EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is a multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that are in concert with the objectives and goals of the National Association for Ethnic Studies. Contributors should demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

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IN
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Table of Contents

The Ethnic Matrix:
Implications for Human Service Practitioners[1]
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Most human services practitioners at one time or another must confront cultural issues which in many ways have a direct impact on their role and effectiveness as helping professionals. This article links the phenomenon of ethnic identity to problems, practices, and policies encountered in the field of human services. Although most of the theoretical concepts presented here are related to counseling psychology and education, other practitioners with culturally diverse client populations will also find the information applicable to their work. The social scientist, teacher and researcher, who is often the disseminator of theoretical and methodological paradigms, should also find these observations useful. The professor of applied and theoretical humanistic studies in many instances is the one who lays the foundation for an understanding of how sociological, cultural, and political phenomena interact with the psychological. The primary purpose of this article, therefore, is to present a psycho-social model (*the ethnic matrix*) for understanding ethnicity and the ethnic process in American society, and show how this model can be used by practitioners and researchers to further expand their own work.

Historical and Societal Perspectives on Ethnic Identity

While the America of the 1980s has adopted a language which on the surface reflects an urbane ethnic diversity and awareness, the traditional xenophobia and home grown ethno-racial stereotypes are still very much intact and rooted in the American cultural consciousness. Ethnic and racial jokes seem to be more frequently heard and repeated in open public places without fear of ostracism or any kind of social sanction. The awareness of the 1960s has given way to a kind of ultra-chic license to parody the black or latino vernacular with impunity. The core of our racial and ethnic images, fantasies, and behavior on the whole seem to have remained unaltered by the ethnic awakenings of the 1960s and 1970s.

Those who are caught between two cultural worlds share more or less a common core of psycho-social crises, conflicts, uncertainties as well as a healthy amount of tenacity and determination in their struggle to sustain an ethnic identity in contemporary American society. One dynamic often neglected in the writing and research about ethnic identity is in the formulation of how the larger societal context shapes, directs, and influences intellectual priorities as well as how it affects the subjects of projected intellectual or social scientific curiosity.

The 1960s and early 1970s provided the climate for a profound challenge to social and political institutions in the U.S. This period made it possible for psychologists, educators, and other human services workers to consider radically altering their perceptions of themselves as well as their professionally predetermined perceptions of their clients, patients, and students. At the same time, the subjects of studies and consumers of services were being radicalized by this same social movement.

Although the strength and power of the "American dream" has created nearly impossible odds against continuity and maintenance of most culturally distinct groups in contemporary society, the civil rights struggles of the 1960s gave birth to a movement which was eventually to develop into a broad based *cultural preservation revolution*. Black Americans effectively launched a movement for ethnic pride and maintenance of cultural heritage through a declaration of a positive and unambiguous self-identification. Naturally, many in psychology, counseling, and education were directly affected by these public and private affirmations concerning issues of race, ethnicity, class, culture, and language. In effect, the work of scholars and practitioners began to reflect a response to many of the challenges hurled at the professional establishment by a disenfranchised community.[2]

When the need for ethnic power was articulated by Chicano, Native American, black, and Puerto Rican professionals, many in the professional world—black, Anglo, Hispanic and Native American—began to listen. The collective response during the last twenty years, in some cases, began to transform, re-direct, and re-shape curriculum in professional training programs, introduce ethnic studies programs in the university, and test advanced pedagogical theory and practice in bilingual education. In general, an attempt to make professional human service practitioners sensitive and responsive to the realities and complexities of the role of race, culture, and language in the counseling, educational, and social service processes was encouraged.

A widely accepted notion is that acculturation is part of the ultimate process of assimilation. Ethnics in America "have become acculturated,

though not assimilated," as Andrew Greely pointed out.[3] Greely, Milton Gordon and others support the notion that acculturation is indeed a sub-process in the larger process of assimilation. Gordon, in his earlier work and again in his most recent book, created a broadly accepted model of the phenomenon of ethnicity and how he believed the assimilation process worked in American life.[4]

A close inspection of Gordon's assimilation variables and the paradigm presented reveals a theoretical construct that is fundamentally *static* in form and substance.[5] The reader is left with the impression that if a specific ethnic group "successfully" checks off all the sub-types of assimilation, then it can be said that this particular group has indeed assimilated into the American core society. In effect, his model suggests that the non-ethnically identifiable individual will be a likely candidate for the ultimate and inevitable form of assimilation: structural assimilation. Gordon's theory suggests that people must divest themselves of their cultural garb, both intrinsic and extrinsic traits or characteristics, before they can be wholly assimilated into the core society. The facts, however, suggest that this end-point in the acculturation process is: (1) rare enough to be considered mythical, and (2) that white, Anglo or European ethnicity in America should be viewed as a significant variant of the ethnic phenomenon experienced by racial minorities (Chicano, black, Puerto Rican, Native American, and Asian).

Gordon mistakenly presents the example of the emerging black middle class as prima facie evidence that blacks have only been "delayed" in their eventual assimilation as a result of 300 years of discrimination. This is not delayed assimilation, this is simply the rule that demonstrates how the assimilation sub-processes, as he suggests, are not really part of an inevitable move towards structural assimilation—at least not for the black American. Native Americans, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans are yet other exceptions. Social, economic, and racial factors prevent these groups from moving as easily as their white ethnic counterparts. A study in New York State revealed that Hispanics continue to be "poorer, less educated and more prone to serious health and social problems than any other segment of the population, white or black."[6] Furthermore, Puerto Ricans, the oldest and most populous Hispanic migrants in the Northeast representing at least sixty percent of the Hispanic population, tend to lag behind in almost every index. According to Gordon's analysis one would expect this older settlement of Hispanics to be the most assimilated. Not so, according to the evidence.

Gordon also presents class as a necessary correlate or variable of the assimilation process. And indeed "ethclass," as he puts it, is a most important factor in an analysis of ethnicity. The black middle class,

however, is notably different, and will continue to distinguish itself from the white ethnic middle class in America, as will be the case in the emerging middle class Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American, Asian American, and indeed other white ethnic communities. For example, Erick Rosenthal's study of a Chicago Jewish community points out that while class mobility contributes to a change in residential patterns, there is a voluntary segregation and an attempt to restore ethnicity through modest forms of Jewish education.[7]

The recent resurgence on the part of both secular and religious groups to maintain Jewish traditions and beliefs seems to provide further evidence of the persistence of ethnic identity in the America of the 1980s. Young Jewish parents, for example, have recently re-established Yiddish language schools in New York City to carry on what is believed to be a most important part of Jewish history, culture, and identity. For many, from groups of varying degrees of orthodoxy, the question of inter-marriage between Jews and gentiles has become a source of potential threat to the larger Jewish identity. Class mobility does not seem to be a necessary correlate or precursor to structural assimilation. Although the changing social climate may now make it easier for some ethnic groups to move up economically, cultural encapsulation sometimes becomes a direct by-product of that same economic mobility.

A model which assigns a fixed identity to a group or an individual member of a particular ethnic group is of little use or value. Far too many new issues have disturbed the uni-dimensional or static model tradi-tionally used for understanding and analyzing ethnicity in contemporary American society.

Shifts in Ethnic Consciousness

Some people are increasingly aware of how their membership in a particular ethnic group brings with it a complex set of social, psy-chological, political, and cultural realities. With this heightened aware-ness, there is a sense about choices one could make about one's own ethnicity. Twenty five years ago this awareness was repressed or talked about in hushed tones; so, naturally the choices made and actions taken about personal ethnic identity were limited and quite private.

First, the racial minorities, those ethnic groups usually perceived and who perceive themselves as "people of color" in the United States, have taken on the call to ethnic revival with a marked urgency. For example, Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics see themselves as non-white in a racial sense—a descriptive perception which places them in a non-Anglo category. This differentiation must be understood within the context of this perceived non-white category which has much more to do with

ethnicity or culture than with the traditional methods used for determining racial designation. This ethnically expressed sense of self, coupled with racial descriptors is a significant one, and one that is often misinterpreted by out-group observers. This is particularly true for Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other Hispanics, some of whom may be perceived as phenotypically white. This ethno-racial identification is particularly important as specific ethnic groups begin to establish their own objectives for social, political and cultural cohesion.

The second stream of ethnics now participating fully and competing for a rather perplexing kind of ethnic equality through the new ethnicity is the category of the white ethnic. The interpreters of the new ethnicity, most notably Michael Novak, challenged the notion of "legitimate" and "illegitimate" minorities.[8] They argued that the Southern and Eastern European have as much right to preserve and maintain their own cultural heritage and ethnic connections as the non-white ethnics. Interestingly, the issue of discrimination and racism once perceived by the racial minorities to have been in part perpetrated and perpetuated by the economically mobile, and slightly more economically advantaged white ethnics, now begins to get hazy and vague.

What was once experienced as a clear line between whites and ethnic racial minorities has become somewhat blurred. The factors of race, class, and ethnicity as significant barriers in the struggle for economic and social equality have now entered a kind of limbo or gray zone. If, for example, the Irish-American Catholics are victimized ethnically, then who is doing the victimizing? Similarly, if the Jews and Italians are registering complaints of discrimination, then who is doing the discriminating? The new ethnicity has introduced some confounding variables into an already complex web of ethnic and race relations. These confused perceptions are most apparent in the claims and counter-claims surrounding affirmative action policies. The purpose of these observations is to shed some light on the new dynamics emerging from the new ethnicity; they are not intended to suggest or promote a "more ethnic than thou" polemic.

Blacks, Native Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asians in America recognize their ethnic and racial differences have always been a significant factor in the expected quality of life or indeed their chances for survival in American society. Historically, these differences have set them apart, and these same differences have traditionally served as a means to conveniently separate the "haves" from the "have nots." Perhaps in a somewhat inverted fashion, the social isolation and setting off into ghettos, tribal reservations, and barrios has served to preserve whatever has survived of the language and traditions. The racial

minorities seeking to reify their cultural experience, find that the process of re-assertion of the ethnic self and group is intimately tied to issues of survival on an economic, social, political and psychological level. On the other hand, the Anglo—or the white ethnic who is perceived as socially white in American society—can and does enter the dominant society with greater ease. This does not mean, however, that the Irish, Italian Americans, and other white ethnics do not face varied forms of discrimination. They most certainly do. Their ability to disconnect and enter the mainstream American society, however, is greatly facilitated by their perceived racial identity. The resulting ethnic disassociation, while sometimes superficial, sometimes facile, is often accompanied by painful and disorienting experiences. Unfortunately, this creates the kind of psychological stress and confusion which leads many to assume a marginal social identity. Ethnotherapy, or traditional psychotherapy with a concentrated focus on issues of culture, now allows many the opportunity to understand the profound impact of culture on the psychological development of the individual in society. Such a focus also serves to clarify the interaction between social rejection, ethnicity, interpersonal, and intergenerational conflict.[9]

Conscious articulation and recognition of cultural maintenance as a desired goal will inevitably alter the classic movement for eventual assimilation. The forces underlying the desire to retain group cohesion for political, cultural, social, economic, or psychological reasons will retard and sometimes reverse the assimilation process. White ethnics who explore their conflicts in an *ethnic oriented therapy* will begin to develop a greater sense of self in connection with their cultural values, beliefs, traditions and ceremonies or rituals. They will, no doubt, be more open to accept or re-kindle their cultural beliefs. This dynamic may differ somewhat for racial minorities who, with few exceptions, have never been able to separate themselves from membership in a group that has been socially and economically marginal, precisely because of cultural and racial identity.

In an effort to assert itself ethnically, the white ethnic community seems to have gone directly to the heart of concerns formerly within the exclusive domain of non-white ethnic communities. Now, however, as the "new ethnicity" emerges and takes root in institutions and in social consciousness, the white ethnic continues to lay claim to minority demands—an insistence upon a variety of economic and social reparations. The presence of white ethnic studies programs in the university alongside minority ethnic studies programs is as common in the 1980s as an affimative action program which has lengthened its list of aggrieved parties. As a matter of course, the notion of cultural pluralism which on

the surface seems to be far more acceptable than the melting pot concept, has been used in many instances to defuse the social and economic demands and concerns of the minorities in the university. In effect, the public relations angle of cultural variety and diversity, the sharing of budgetary allocations equally, the big push for a "global" social studies curriculum are all techniques which have served to move the hard core social and economic realities of some ethnic groups to the back burner. The best way to render a movement impotent is to suggest that everyone is desperately in need of and entitled to exploration and restoration of their cultural heritage. The focus, therefore, becomes the superficial examination of culture and ethnicity of all groups, while concomitantly down-playing how ethnicity and race interact with other factors to produce devastatingly negative economic and social consequences for select ethnic groups in American society.[10]

The public debate was gradually transformed by those who make public policy: educators introduced new curriculum offerings; social service agencies, in some instances, attempted to re-vamp their programs and personnel practices; legislators wrote new laws and funded new programs. Those who produce social science research to support or challenge the changes in public institutions are also participants in the debate.

Richard Rodriquez, for example, through his paradigm of the public and private society of language and culture, extends the debate about ethnicity in American life to one of the most controversial and politically volatile issues in the public domain: bilingual education.[11] In his evocative account of his childhood, Rodriguez, through a most eloquent remembrance of the complexities of language and a confused cultural identity, serves as a kind of spokesperson for those staunchly opposed to bilingual education. Here we have an academically-credentialed Chicano, an articulate university professor from a poor background who expresses strong anti-bilingual education sentiments. The press, opponents of bilingual education, and those who believe all assimilation to be not only good but necessary could not miss this golden opportunity to promote their position. Rodriguez's pronouncements served to fan the flames. Ultimately, the public society which Rodriguez claims to have finally accepted as his very own turns out to be only another group's ethnic core—somebody else's extrinsic and intrinsic set of values and beliefs.

The Rodriguez position is only one example of an intellectual struggle and heated climate surrounding the public debate about the place and role of ethnicity and language in this society. On another level, however, the debate itself reflects the struggle for political power, class re-

alignments, and racial and cultural hegemony in American society.

The Ethnic Matrix-Ethnicity as a Dynamic Phenomenon

The most commonly held belief on ethnic change suggests that individuals and groups move from a traditional point of reference—identity or orientation—to an Anglo-American point of reference: an inevitable uni-directional process to assimilation. For most, social scientist and lay public alike, the premise upon which ethnic change theory is based is the notion that time and continuous contact with the dominant society will eventually wash away all traces of cultural differences. Again, the assumption is that the movement is one-way, and occasional reversals and returns to the ethnic community are to be viewed as romantic excursions into an innocent past; nothing to be taken seriously. The process of the ethnic matrix is much more complex than these simplistic assertions may suggest. If the ethnic process moves one way for some, it does not necessarily mean that all ethnic groups can be fit into narrow bands of typologies or stages of acculturation or assimilation.

The political and social changes of the 1960s and 1970s served to give most ethnic Americans an alternative to total absorption into the mainstream; one could now be a part of the larger national social context while at the same time continue membership in a distinct ethnic community. In other words, the public debate on ethnicity gave people greater impetus to do what they had been doing all along; maintain ethnic membership on their own terms, and recognize that the road to becoming an assimilated American was indeed a costly journey. Instead of believing that any acculturative act will inevitably lead to total assimilation, most ethnic groups today, at least those interested in sustaining their cultural core and identity, subscribe to a far more dynamic ethnic process.

If one were to consider varying degrees of assimilation as points on opposite poles of a continuum, and the movements towards or away from either pole as an ebb and flow process, then we might begin to envision an added dimension in the acculturative process. This process is characterized by a time and movement dimension whose shifts or changes are determined by a highly complex set of social interactions producing a larger web or *ethnic matrix* finding expression in individual and group behavior. This movement, this ebb and flow, is largely determined by pieces of behavior experienced by each member of the ethnic group, and collectively on a broader societal scale will be seen as patterns or culture shifts taking place in the group itself.

The ethnic behavioral patterns can be viewed as choices—some forced,

8

others voluntary— and decisions or preferences expressed or acted upon in the course of a lifetime, a year, a month or a day. These discrete choices or preferences will move the individual to either one end of that continuum or the other. In so doing, the choice or posture assumed in response to a particular event or activity will either support the group's traditional mode of culturally determined behavior or the choice will support a preference for an Anglo-American oriented pattern. The choice, on the other hand, may be one which represents an acceptable modification or a *mixed mode* expressive of a blending of the two cultural behaviors. These ethnic choice points are legion. Some examples may include the following: choice of residential neighborhood, choice of spouse, naming of a child, foods eaten, music listened to, ritual celebration, use of mother tongue, involvement in ethnic politics, support of bilingual education or of ethnic studies programs. These are acts and choices which re-affirm the individual's identification with particular ethnic interests, associations, and commitments.

The daily choices ultimately define for that individual an *ethnic orientation* rather than that which is usually presented or perceived as a fixed ethnic identity. In effect, the components or elements are in constant flux and have the potential for a directional change. Yet the overall movement or orientation does allow for the development of broader patterns of behavior. Viewing ethnicity as a dynamic and changeable phenomenon on a continuum, expressive of preferences pushing towards or away from either mode, allows for a greater degree of flexibility and refinement in developing an understanding of the ethnic process. In effect, ethnicity is as complex as the myriad decisions that define it as a portion of human behavior. Attempts to measure ethnic identity and ethnicity have proven to be a difficult and less than valid and reliable process. Abstractions of what we believe ethnicity to be is in large measure determined by abstracted methodologies.

If we consider the ethnic continuum once again, we have before us a visual model for what may be occurring in the acculturation and assimilation process. The modes, while existing only in the abstract sense, do provide polar opposites which allow us the opportunity to envision movement towards or away from either end of the continuum. This phenomenon is experienced most profoundly by first and second generation immigrants, and continues to be part of the psycho-cultural process as long as that particular group is considered "different" in this society. Ethnics perceived as phenotypically "white" tend to move much more quickly towards an assimilative mode than those ethnics perceived as "non-white." Black Americans, for example, continue to be keenly aware of their differences in U.S. society. In daily life choices they are

9

caught between the Afroamerican mode and the assimilated mode where one may choose total denial of race and cultural heritage. This also holds true for other minorities who, because of their marginal social economic conditions, are forced to adhere closely to their traditional modes of behavior in isolated ethnic communities.

The large scale rejection by the dominant society, not only as a result of racial distinction but also because of other indicators of ethnic difference (i.e., language and culture), sometimes paradoxically reinforces the ethnic group's sense of peoplehood. However, this kind of negative reinforcement of ethnicity is not always experienced as an affirmation of the group's positive traditional patterns of behavior. The message received and often internalized is that they are different and clearly inferior to the members of the dominant group; their language and culture are not worth maintaining, and in order to become "real" Americans they must abandon their traditional cultural patterns. This resounding message comes through in every aspect of their lives. The most immediate result is poor self-esteem, as well as hatred or shame of one's ethnic or racial group.

The most pervasive and profound form of cultural repression comes from public schools. The primary function of educational institutions is to socialize and to Americanize all children. Although there is much ado about the need for "global" education, the controversy still rages over the efficacy or value of bilingual education programs. The efforts to diversify the language and cultural curriculum of schools represent an exceedingly small part of educational practice. A look at the history of education in this country demonstrates that the prevailing thrust has been in favor of a pedagogical philosophy which is not about the business of preserving culture. Look closely at those programs which on the surface seem to be culturally radicalizing institutions. What may be occurring, under the guise of cultural pluralism, bilingual and multi-cultural education, is the same old brand of Americanization. Guidance counselors and educators must be schooled in the dynamics of their own ethnicity, and know that the messages they bring with them to their clients and students can either affirm a way of life or denigrate it.[12]

The message from schools, the media, and other sectors of society is persistent: language, culture, and traditions must yield in order to gain full and direct admission into the larger society. The "unmeltables" must melt. The price of admission is your ethnic identity; who you think you are must be abandoned, given up, discarded; your sense of cultural continuity must be terminated. What remains of strong rich cultures sometimes is only evident in the vestigial pap of annual traditions so commonly expressed in the American ethnic parade.

Nature of Choice—Simple to Complex

The flow and direction of life are guided by countless choices. We are faced continuously with certain choices which involve a facet or an aspect of our ethnicity: our ethnic selves. This ethnic self is functionally inseparable from other aspects of our psycho-social selves. These ethnic choices operate on many levels and carry with them varying degrees of psychological and social meaning and consequence. At times, these choices may be quite mundane, routine, and of little consequence. At other times, the choice may produce a deeply significant impact on our ethnicity and ultimately result in a push towards an acculturative life pattern. The choices, whether petty or profound, build upon a lifetime of options which ultimately enhance our ethnic associations (psychologically and socially), or reduce ethnicity in a cumulative sense. New patterns emerge from the choices, and these patterns in turn create new sets of choices on the ethnic continuum.

One choice alone does not cause an individual to drop membership in a particular ethnic group. But a long series of interconnected choice points will eventually have an impact on one's sense of ethnic orientation. For example, Richard Rodriguez's observations are more than a commentary on the efficacy of bilingual education; they reflect an individual's personal struggle with self and his ethnic community. Ultimately, the string of choices made by Rodriguez have moved him away from one end of the ethnic continuum towards the other, where he experienced his newly formed identity as his personal epiphany:

> Thus it happened for me. Only when I was able to think of myself as an American, no longer alien in gringo society, could I seek the rights and opportunities necessary for full public individuality. The social and political advantages I enjoy as a man began on the day I came to believe that my name is indeed Rich-heard Road-ree-guess.[13]

Rodriguez's revelation came with the acceptance of the Anglicized sound of his name, for others it comes with an awareness, acceptance, and an affirmation of who they are by asserting their ethnic identity in public society.

Unfortunately, the controversy surrounding Rodriguez's work focused on his pedagogical preferences rather than on the internal individual struggle as an expression of only one kind of journey towards assimilation. Other ethnic minorities, finding themselves in this same struggle, have taken their private intimate world and thrust it into the public domain; and in so doing, risked rejection and prejudice. Many, however, have met with an acceptance of who they are; if not by others, they accepted themselves for who and what they are with the same kind of equanimity expressed by Rodriguez.

Not only is this ethnic choice made between two poles on the

continuum represented as a horizontal movement but each choice also carries with it a degree of intensity which could be conceptualized as a vertical or hierarchical system denoting the *degree of impact* of that particular ethnic choice. The interaction between a vertical and a horizontal continuum forms the essence of the *ethnic matrix*. Therefore, the ethnic matrix can be defined as that point where one moves towards or away from a traditional ethnic mode of behavior on a horizontal continuum, and at the same time this choice carries with it a property which can be seen as an intensity factor on a vertical continuum. Matrix in this sense is defined as ". . . a place or medium in which something is bred, produced or developed; or, a place or point of origin and growth."[14]

The intensity or impact of choice on the individual's ethnic lifestyle follows: First, some choices are simple and have no significant impact on the individual's degree of ethnicity. Second, some choices mark significant points in a person's life where the movement away from the traditional mode is experienced as a critical departure from established ethnic patterns or norms. This kind of shift can be experienced as a cultural breach. Third, many choices present a serious conflict in values and belief systems, which are not experienced on a conscious level. As these conflicts remain unresolved or go unrecognized, they will continue to produce stress and some degree of psycho-social dysfunction for the individual. This is precisely what counselors and others must attend to in their work. A counseling process which addresses the dynamics of ethnicity would enable a client to move to a healthier more integrated level of acceptance of self and community. Many ethnic individuals face social and psychic oppression through a variety of contacts and confrontations with the dominant society. Many others, however, re-direct their stress and transform conflict into positive artistic, social, familial, political or literary forms of expression, and in so doing regain or re-affirm a more assured sense of self and community.

One of the fundamental purposes of cross cultural counseling or co-ethnic counseling is to focus attention on issues related to culture and cultural adaptation. Those who carry their culture pretty much intact, while making appropriate shifts in their approach to a new culture, are those who will experience the least amount of conflict. Conversely, the individual or family experiencing the greatest degree of cultural dissonance, and believing their cultural matrix is entirely useless in the new surroundings, are the ones who will experience the greatest dysfunction and will need the kind of counseling and therapy which openly acknowledges and addresses the complexities of the ethnic process. Counselors and therapists must have some self-knowledge of their own ethnicities, some working knowledge of the client's or patient's ethnicity,

and finally a sensitivity about how the two will interact in the counseling process to either enhance communication and trust or reduce it. In addition to gender, age, speech, warmth, and a dozen other physical, psychological, and social traits communicated by practitioners, they are also members of an ethnic group.

The study conducted by Fernandez-Marina *et al.* demonstrated that college students in the University of Puerto Rico most in need of counseling were those who were beginning to disengage themselves from the traditional Latin family belief system:

> . . . our non-neurotics were significantly more accepting of traditional Latin-American family beliefs than were our neurotics. Apparently here in Puerto Rico those who are moving too rapidly away from the traditional family values of the society are encountering more inter-personal problems than those who are holding on to, or moving slowly from, traditional family beliefs.[15]

The findings demonstrate how both major and minor choices move us towards one end of the ethnic continuum or the other. The complexity of the ethnic matrix accounts for a host of ethnic choices and decisions, both conscious and unconscious. Little is known about the profound cohesive factors which bind certain ethnic groups. At the same time, little is known about those who find themselves in the throes of virtual cultural dissolution or absorption as marginal members in an ethnically neutered American society.

Does the traditional ethnic group provide a centrality and sense of focus in life for the individual? Or do we know too well that the powerfully attractive mass American culture lurks constantly in the shadows and competes with one's strong desire for identity and rootedness in the ethnic community? A greater sense of ambivalence is much more evident and perhaps more stressful in the individual who actively seeks a greater degree of socio-economic mobility. In this same individual there may be a profound need for community or for centrality. But the cultural abyss, and the lure and the prizes offered by mass culture all seem to exist outside the gates of the ethnic community, and the acquisition of these seem to require the renunciation of membership from the primary group. Indeed, what more does this mass culture provide beyond the seeming material comfort and imagined status and acceptability that comes with social mobility?

Once again, Rodriguez's words illustrate his personal leap into the public society and describes the loss of a certain kind of intimacy. He states:

> It is true that my public society today is often impersonal, in fact, my public society today is usually mass society. But despite the anonymity of the crowd, and despite the fact that the individuality I achieve in public is often tenuous—because it depends on my being one in a crowd—I celebrate the day I acquired my new name.[16]

The point here is not to focus on how far Rodriguez has assimilated into

mainstream core society but to recognize his experience for what it is: a point in a long series of events and choices he has made throughout his life. His personal journal is an excellent example of the ethnic process in flux as suggested by the ethnic matrix. The choices he has made in his life, and those he continues to make, may move him along the ethnic continuum towards the Anglo mode or they may move him back to the traditional Hispanic mode. Yet today Rodriguez might remember the sounds of his Spanish childhood, and these, he said, were a part of the "golden age of [my] childhood."[17]

These comments are not only nostalgic recollections but reflections of what he is and what he feels today. Psychologically, his approach to words, sounds, images and imaginings of intimacies of his heart are only a reflection of this process; and Rodriguez will continue to call upon these memories, experiences, and ways of looking at the world today as he writes or teaches. Rodriguez is far from the assimilated American. The Chicano child in him continues to shape the perception of his adult world.

Rodriguez may have stepped into a pedagogical hornets' nest by expressing his views on the uses of language and culture in the classroom, but his most important contribution lies in his presentation of his thoughts and feelings as he moves through the shifts in ethnic identity. His account is an excellent case study of the ethnic matrix at work. In fact, Rodriguez has not stopped making choices on the ethnic continuum. Most recently, to the chagrin of the Anglo-establishment press and others eagerly looking for his support on the matter of bilingualism, he has taken a public stand against the proposed constitutional amendment that would declare English the official language of the United States. He states: "Our government has no business elevating one language above all others, no business implying the supremacy of Anglo culture."[18] On this particular issue, if we apply the ethnic matrix, Rodriguez would move towards the Hispanic end of the continuum. The point here is that the many options taken offer the potential for moving us towards or away from either end of the ethnic continuum.

Implications for Training and Research

Each academic area developed its own strategies which are based on a set of beliefs about what role ethnicity or ethnic identity plays in that particular field. Anthropologists have been engaged in cross-cultural research and what the implications and applications of their findings might be for human relations. Psychologists, interested in broadening their theoretical perspectives and clinical effectiveness, started to seriously consider the role of culture in the counseling or psycho-

therapeutic process in the 1960s. The absence of ethnic content and concern with ethnic issues in professional training programs was seriously questioned. This significant void seemed to limit the applicability of some of the "non-ethnic" concepts in psychology and education to a small sector of the population: namely, white middle class Americans. The widely accepted belief in the melting pot seemed to push away all references to the ethnically or linguistically different client. Although movement away from the non-ethnic approach in counseling and other human services has occurred in some small measure, the best way to systematically include ethnicity in the training repertoire remains problematical. Progress in this area has been hampered by a number of factors, not the least of which is a basic inability to confront the realities and complexities of the role of ethnicity in the larger societal structure. Furthermore, naive perceptions of the significance of racial and ethnic differences, on one level, buttressed by most American's fundamental racist thinking and fears on another level, have created a kind of Disneyworld view of what culture, language, and race represent in the America of the 1980s. Most pre-professionals and professionals enter their training and practice with their views virtually untouched and unchallenged. Add to this uniform thinking the diversity of perceptions and methodologies of humanistic studies researchers, and what results is a profoundly confusing picture of ethnicity and ethnic relations in American society. How we study what we study, more often than not, adds to the confusion of what we know or think we know about a particular social phenomenon.

Once the dynamic and complex nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity is fully recognized, we can then begin to focus on the impact it may have on individual development and group interaction. The process, however, is sometimes difficult to grasp in the classic social scientific sense. Understanding the process requires a broad-spectrum analysis—an interdisciplinary approach, if you will. The nature of ethnic identity is such that it produces the kinds of methodological obstacles which often prevent the researcher from fully appreciating and numerically documenting its every nuance.

Those proposing the broader, less rigid, qualitative or ethnographic definitions and descriptions of ethnicity may be on the right track in terms of theory building in human and social behavior. On the other hand, researchers who have restricted their work to finite social questions within even more restrictive methodologies may have too easily allowed themselves to get bogged down in amassing quantitative minutia. They seem to be perpetuating the empirical style described and cautioned against by C. W. Mills:

> What all this amounts to is the use of statistics to illustrate general points and the use of general points to illustrate statistics. The general points are neither tested nor made specific. They are adapted to the figures, as the arrangement of the figures is adapted to them. The general points and explanations can be used with other figures too; and the figures can be used with other general points. The logical tricks are used to give apparent structural and historical and psychological meaning to studies which by their very style of abstraction have eliminated such meanings.[19]

Although this does not mean all quantitative studies and approaches are totally devoid of meaning, what does seem to happen frequently is that the central idea or thrust of a study is not made apparent. Too often the study is embedded or lost in the tables, charts, correlation comparisons, and frequency distributions abstracted from census tapes or exquisitely refined data.

The essence of the ethnic experience seems to be absent in most of the quantitative studies: the quality of time and space between individuals and groups is never fully captured, examined or reported. Gregory Bateson, in discussing the problems of scientific measurement, suggested that "behavioral scientists are in the habit of looking for quantities, and so miss the patterns that really matter."[20] In our zeal to count frequencies and determine validity and reliability, we submit to the tyranny of the measuring instrument, and somehow in the final analysis, we "miss the patterns" which tell of the experience itself.

This suggested perspective on ethnicity as a dynamic, moving, and constantly changing phenomenon will take us away from the fixed perceptions which developed and have come to be accepted about ethnicity in the social sciences. Counselors, psychologists, and other human services practitioners should begin to look at the ethnic factor with renewed interest and commitment. The more counseling services extend into the poorer sectors of the society, the more frequent our encounter will be with cultural systems that are markedly different from those of the provider of the service. Training programs, through an expanded curriculum, must openly address ethnicity as readily as other dynamics in human behavior are discussed. While the public debate around ethnicity continues to have political, social, and economic significance, the practitioners and trainers of our practitioners cannot simply dismiss the ethnic factor in counseling, education, or social work as a phenomenon that might have been fashionable and politically expedient in the 1960s and early 1970s, but is now passe.

Notes

[1] A version of this paper was presented at the *First Eastern Regional Meeting of the National Association for Ethnic Studies: Ethnic Identity-Visions and Revisions.* Pace University, New York, Friday, October 25, 1985. I would like to express my appreciation to William A. Proefriedt for his helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

[2] J. A. Vazquez and C. Gold. *Counseling and Minorities: A Bibliography.* National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education and InterAmerica Research Associates, Inc. 1981. This collection is reflective of the growing interest in this area of research.

[3] Andrew M. Greeley. *Why Can't They Be Like Us? Facts and Fallacies About Ethnic Differences and Group Conflicts in America.* (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969) 69.

[4] Milton M. Gordon. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965); Milton M. Gordon. *Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[5] *Ibid.,* 71, 76.

[6] Larry Rohter. "Hispanics in State in Worst Poverty." *New York Times.* (Monday, August 26, 1985) 1.

[7] Erick Rosenthal. "Acculturation Without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois." *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 66, (1960) 275-288.

[8] Michael Novak. *Further Reflections on Ethnicity.* (Middletown, Pa.: Jednota Press, 1977) 8.

[9] M. McGoldrick, J. Pearce, and J. Giordano. *Ethnicity and Family Therapy* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1982).

[10] J. Nieves, J. Canino, S. Gorelick, H. Ortiz, C. Rodriguez, and J. M. Vazquez. "Puerto Rican Studies—Roots and Challenges." Paper presented at the *First International Conference for Puerto Rican Studies.* Brooklyn College-CUNY, New York, April 3, 1981. A section of this paper takes a closer look at the concept of cultural pluralism and its potentially negative impact on the progress of minorities in the university.

[11] Richard Rodriguez. "Memories of a Bilingual Childhood." *American Educator.* Vol. 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1981) 12-21.

[12]Jesse M. Vazquez. "Exploring the Ethnic Self of the Bilingual Teacher in Training." *Journal of the New York State Association for Bilingual Education.* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), 26-36.

[13]Rodriguez, 18.

[14]*Oxford English Dictionary.* The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary. Vol. I. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

[15]R. Fernandez-Marina, E. Maldonado Sierra, and R. D. Trent. "Neurosis and Traditional Family Beliefs in Puerto Rico." *International Journal of Social Psychiatry.* Vol. 6, Nos. 3 & 4 (Autumn, 1960) 244.

[16]Rodriguez, p. 18.

[17]Rodriguez, p. 17.

[18]George Will. "In Defense of the Mother Tongue." *Newsweek.* (July 8, 1985) 78.

[19]C. Wright Mills. *The Sociological Imagination.* (New York: Grove Press 1959) 71.

[20]Daniel Goldman. "Interview with Gregory Bateson: Breaking out of the Double Bind." *Psychology Today.* Vol. 12, No. 3 (August, 1978) 47.

Critique

Vazquez brings to the fore a number of elements which should be of concern to educators as well as counselors today. His article is primarily concerned with the intertwining of cultures in the United States as ethnic minority groups increase in numbers.

Although the author illustrates how Gordon's theory is one which suggests foreigners divest themselves of their cultural garb in order to be assimilated by this society, many graduate counseling programs with cross cultural components are urging American professionals who will be cross cultural counselors to not only accept but encourage their foreign clients to retain their cultural garb. American counselors and educators are being encouraged to take advantage of the enrichment which would come from learning about a different culture and seeing things from a different perspective.

Vazquez also suggests that many ethnic minority groups cannot penetrate the surrounding American society. For example, many Cuban immigrants of the 1960s chose to infiltrate American society. Many of them, like some other ethnic minorities, want to retain their culture and live it to the fullest, regardless of where their domicile happens to be. President John Kennedy forecasted what lay ahead. He urged many of the newcomers to settle in other parts of the United States, to avoid the problems of overcrowding which have developed in southern Florida. Many Cubans who were living in that area at the time were remaining there because, they told this reviewer, they wanted to recreate another Havana as close to home as possible.

The author indicates the severity of health and educational problems among Puerto Ricans living in New York City. Future studies might address the issue in order to determine whether educational problems stem from an underprivileged status or from maladaptation to American surroundings, i.e., trying to ward off ultimate assimilation into American society and way of life.

The author did not fully address the role of American society in helping in the assimilation process. Nor does he deal with "disassimilation": An example in question is what is happening with Hispanics in this country. On most employment applications, Hispanics are referred to as a separate "race," thus segregating them from what have always been considered the three major races, namely, Caucasoid, Negroid and Mongoloid. The same society which is encouraging assimilation is also promoting more segregation among its ethnic minorities.

Although Vazquez suggests assimilation is a uni-directional process, future studies should determine whether that is truly the case. Questions which need to be addressed include: Does the prevailing culture absorb certain elements of all foreign culture? Are foreign elements seen as "different" and refused, or are they seen as being in a "minority" and ignored? Would it be possible for the host society to be shown that what is being turned down may be a source of enrichment?

Some ethnic minorities strive for complete assimilation while others want to retain their ethnicity, risking prejudice and rejection in the process. Researchers may want to attempt to determine which ethnic minorities fit into what group and try to analyze the quantity and quality of the problems experienced by them.

Vazquez's article provides an interesting perspective on *the ethnic matrix,* and shows how his concept is at work in our society. It is a thought provoking article for cross cultural research.

— Albert F. Inclan

Critique

Vazquez's psychosocial model for understanding ethnicity and the ethnic process in American society and how this model could be used by practitioners and researchers to further expand their own work is noble. Vazquez fulfilled his purpose. However, the underlying assumption is somewhat misleading, i.e., practitioners and researchers, generally, are not employing the ethnic matrix model. Vazquez states that the absence of ethnic content and concern with ethnic issues in professional training programs was seriously questioned.

President John F. Kennedy proposed, and Congress passed, in 1963 a law establishing community mental health centers (PL 88-164) on an experimental basis.[1] As these centers were set up, mental health professionals became increasingly aware of, and appreciative of, the need for diagnosis and treatment based on cultural, racial, and ethnic differences. Consequently, the center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs was founded with the National Institute of Mental Health in 1970.

In 1975 James Banks, an eminent scholar in education and ethnic studies, wrote that a sophisticated understanding of our society cannot be grasped unless the separate ethnic communities which constitute American society are seriously analyzed from the perspectives of the various social sciences and humanities.[2] In southeast Los Angeles, a culturally diverse and medically underserved area, the Charles R. Drew Area Health Education Center was established in October 1979. In conjunction with the Charles Drew Postgraduate Medical School, the Area Health Education Center Program focuses on directing minority youth, the educationally disadvantaged and others through the health careers pathway. One could cite many other examples which demonstrate that the psychosocial or ethnic matrix model has been, and continues to be utilized in various professional training programs.

Vazquez should focus more clearly on three particular areas as he pursues the relevance of the ethnic matrix. First, that black Americans effectively launched a movement for *ethnic pride* and maintenance of cultural heritage is questionable. The movement had nothing to do with *ethnic price*. Rather, it focused on *racial pride*. Race and ethnicity are not always synonymous.

Second, that the black middle class is notably different and will continue to distinguish itself from the white ethnic middle class in America might be true. However, Vazquez fails to show how (1) blacks constitute an ethnic group; (2) nor does he provide examples of how the black middle class is different from the white middle class. Showing the Chicago Jewish community as an equivalent model for the black middle

class is a definite weakness of the article.

Third, that the history of education in this country demonstrates how the prevailing thrust has been in favor of a pedagogical philosophy which is not about the business of perserving culture is inaccurate. American education has traditionally focused on the preservation of culture—European and Euroamerican.

<div align="right">

— James H. Williams
California State Polytechnic University

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Notes

[1]Charles L. Sanders, ed. *Mental Health Programs for Racial Minorities.* Institute for Urban Affairs and Research. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1977) 2.

[2]James A. Banks. *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies.* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1979) 7.

Critique

The main subject of Jesse Vazquez's article is clearly the ethnic matrix, although several related issues are also covered. While any of the latter could be discussed here, my comments will focus on the matrix itself.

The ethnic matrix deals with a problem of obvious importance, the need to better conceptualize the nature of ethnicity given what we have learned about this phenomenon over the past two decades. The ethnic matrix is an insightful approach to this problem which has the potential for becoming a significant perspective. It provides a fresh point of view which is good because fresh views often encourage or directly contribute to the work of other researchers and they serve as reminders of the inadequacies of earlier conceptions of ethnicity such as the assimilation paradigm. Beyond this, I especially like how the matrix builds upon the common but useful notion of behavior choices and that it emphasizes the adaptability of racial minorities and other groups, the fluidity and complexity of ethnicity, and the influence of the larger societal context.

Vazquez, however, presents only the barest outlines of the ethnic matrix. The matrix must be conceptually developed beyond this inital

stage in order to have any major influence on researchers and human services practitioners. This situation should be seen as more of an opportunity for future work than an existing shortcoming. Fortunately, there are a number of avenues along which future development might proceed. Vazquez undoubtedly has some thoughts on this matter—as will readers of this article. I will offer three modest suggestions.

First, the idea of an ethnic continuum defined by only two opposite poles is probably too simple. A certain number of continuum mid-points could be formulated and examined. One possibility is to consider very general types of what Vazquez refers to as modified or mixed mode behaviors. These could even include traditional modes of behavior which have new Anglo-American social meanings and consequences or vice-versa.

Second, the role of ethnic culture as a cause as well as a result of behavior choices (or broad collective behavior patterns) could be given more attention. Ethnic culture could itself be seen as a complicated mix of elements retained unchanged or in modified form from a group's traditional cultural background, elements selectively taken unchanged or in modified form from Anglo-American culture, and completely new elements which evolve out of a group's experiences in American society. Over time, changes in this mix, including the possible reintroduction of previously discarded elements, will produce different ethnic cultural forms. My third suggestion is that the links between behavior choices, general orientations, and perhaps longer term life patterns could be further explored.

One final observation. The specific implications of the ethnic matrix for human services practitioners could be investigated more extensively in future work. One example would be a detailed look at the types of high-impact behavior choices which might require the assistance of counselors or therapists. Such investigations could make use of pertinent findings from the recent literature on cross-cultural counseling.

In sum, the ethnic matrix is a promising approach to the important problem of better conceputalizing ethnicity. However, its basic outlines need additional development. I hope that Vazquez as well as others will soon pursue this task.

— Russell Endo
University of Colorado

Self-Evaluation of
Black and White College Students*
Keith D. Parker

A major issue in the social psychology of race relations has been the axiom that blacks tend to manifest lower self-esteem than whites.[1] Much of the empirical support for this hypothesis came from studies demonstrating that blacks are stigmatized and subjected to a variety of unpleasant and derogatory experiences.[2] However, these studies are limited in two respects: first, by their use of small, nonrepresentative samples (primarily nursery school and kindergarten children) and second, by their reliance upon inferential (semi-projective) measures of self-esteem.[3]

Research focusing on studies based on more substantial samples and employing relatively direct measures of self-esteem questions the assumption of many scholars and policy-makers that blacks have lower self-esteem than whites.[4] Indeed, the preponderance of evidence supports the opposite conclusion. In three of thirty-two comparisons, blacks rate higher than whites in self-esteem, in four comparisons there is no significant difference in the self-esteem of blacks and whites, and in five comparisons whites rate higher than blacks in self-esteem.[5] Although few of the studies introduce formal controls for socioeconomic status (SES) and academic achievement, in the case of those which do,[6] all but one report that blacks have higher self-esteem than whites.[7]

Despite the findings that blacks normally manifest self-esteem equal to, and often greater than, that of whites (especially those of comparable social backgrounds) the debate over race and self-esteem remains active,[8] and numerous explanations have been suggested.[9] One explanation assumes that mainstream discrimination and oppression must have harmful effects on the black psyche. In particular, white dominance pushes blacks either to excessive compliance and low self-esteem or to excessive militance and exaggerated self-esteem.[10]

Other explanations assume varying degrees of autonomy for black culture, allowing it to buffer or swamp the negative evaluations of

mainstream whites. Theorists such as Gloria J. Powell and Marielle Fuller, for example, hypothesize that high self-esteem in blacks is a reflection of recent historical trends, specifically the dramatic increase in black nationalism, with its emphasis on black pride.[11] They further contend that the adverse psychological effects associated with desegregation are the results of the prejudice and discrimination accompanying white resistance to integration.[12]

Although the arguments are provocative, they are not easily validated and, in some instances, they contradict existing evidence. For example, the assertion that there has been an increase in black self-esteem during the past two decades implies that blacks have had substantially lower self-esteem in the past.[13] But the noncomparability of past and present research makes comparison difficult, if not impossible, to test this hypothesis.[14] If we assume that the "new mood" which emerged in the black community in the late 1960s had its primary impact upon the young, then an indirect test suggests itself: "there should be a stronger inverse relationship between age and self-esteem among blacks than among whites."[15]

A more theoretical approach to the issues is proposed by John D. McCarthy and William L. Yancey and elaborated by Morris Rosenberg and Robert G. Simmons. These authors question the common assumption that blacks accept white definitions of themselves, noting that "the sources of evaluation important to self-identity are individuals occupying social positions quite similiar to ego."[16] In summary, these authors assert that, by and large, blacks compare themselves with other blacks and thus are effectively insulated from potentially invidious cross-racial comparisons.

The purpose of this article is to compare seven dimensions of the self-concept of black and white students enrolled in a predominantly white, state-supported university in the Deep South. This study differs from earlier investigations in two important aspects. First, it provides a more accurate assessment of the direct relationship between self-concept and race, by using a research design which effectively controls for the extraneous influences of socioeconomic status and academic achievement. Second, this study focuses upon aggregate differences at the college level, rather than examining self-esteem at the level of the individual.

Method

Sample and Data Collection

The data upon which this analysis is based were drawn from a predominantly white, state-supported university located in the Deep South. In the spring of 1981, the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale was administered to 320 undergraduate students enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences and the College of Business. After adjusting the sample for those who did not complete the instrument, 298 eligible respondents remained. The sample, sub-divided by race, consisted of 149 black (82 females and 67 males) and 149 white students (74 females and 75 males).

Instrument and procedure

The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, a standardized Likert-type instrument, was used to assess self-esteem.[17] The standardization group from which the norms were developed included a broad sample of 626 individuals from various parts of the country and ranged in age from twelve to sixty-eight. "There were approximately equal numbers of both sexes, both negro and white subjects, representatives of all social, economic, and intellectual levels from sixth grade through the Ph.D. degree."[18]

The seven dimensions used in the study were: Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Social Self, Personal Self, Family Self, Self Criticism, and Total Positive Score. The Tennessee Scale's manual describes the Physical Self as the individual's view of body, state of health, appearance, skills, and sexuality. The Moral-Ethical Self is described as relating to perceptions of "Moral Worth," relationship to god, feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and satisfaction with one's religion or lack of it. The Personal Self score is reflective of the individual's sense of personal worth. The Social Self items indicate the person's sense of adequacy and worth in interaction with people in general. The Family Self score reflects one's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member. Self Criticism reflects obvious defensiveness. The Total Positive score reflects the overall level of self-esteem.

The Tennessee Scale was administered under classroom conditions in March and April of 1981 by both the professor and the researcher. The subjects were instructed to respond to every item on the questionnaire. They were assured that their responses would be used only for research purposes.

Findings

Black/White Self-Esteem

Table 1 shows subscale and composite or Total Positive self-esteem scores for black and white students. The self-evaluations of black and white students do not differ significantly. An inspection of mean scores for each item on the subscale reveals no differences in the levels of self-esteem reported by the respondents. This finding supports the earlier findings that indicated no self-esteem disadvantage for black students. That is, black students are as likely as white students to evaluate themselves in a positive manner. In sum, the findings of no differences in reported self-esteem between black and white students on each item of the subscale are consistent with the basic postulates of this study.

A comparison of the composite score or Total Positive score for the various dimensions of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale reveal no race differences in self-esteem. According to Table 1, the composite score or Total Positive score made by black and white students with the norm group suggests no significant departure. The mean composite score or Total Positive score was 345.54 for the norm group, 344.8 for black students, and 341.7 for white students.

Table 1

A comparison of the Normative scores with scores made by Black and White College Students on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale

TSCS	NORM GROUP (N=626)		BLACK STUDENTS (N=149)		WHITE STUDENTS (N=149)	
SUBSCALES	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD
Physical Self	71.78	7.67	72.3	7.46	68.7	7.55
Moral-Ethical Self	70.33	8.70	67.2	7.68	68.0	7.92
Personal Self	64.55	7.41	67.1	8.37	66.3	7.49
Family Self	70.83	8.43	69.7	7.55	70.3	7.67
Social Self	68.14	7.86	68.5	7.89	68.2	7.87
Self Criticism	35.54	6.70	34.4	5.49	36.4	5.63
Total Positive	345.54	30.70	344.8	30.10	341.7	29.60

Similarly, the Total Positive score made by black students do not show a significant departure from the Total Positive score made by white students (all t scores were tested at .05 level of significance). The findings

show black and white students reporting the same level of self-esteem, 344.8 and 341.7, respectively. The results for black and white students, in terms of Total Positive scores, indicate no difference in reported self-evaluations.

Table 1 also provides a comparison of the mean scores of the seven basic dimensions of self-esteem made by black and white students and the norm group. The net result is that black and white students, on the self-evaluation items, do not differ from the norm group of any of the seven dimensions measured. The mean scores for black and white students and the norm group on each item of the subscale are essentially the same. In other words, the mean scores for black and white students on each item of the subscale as compared to the norm group do not differ.

The next step of the investigation was to look at the percentage of students, by race, having high self-esteem. According to Table 2, fifty-four percent of black students score high in self-esteem, in contrast to forty-three percent of white students. The findings support the earlier research that black students are as likely as white students to have high self-esteem. Moreover, the findings reported in Table 2 are consistent with the postulates of this study.

Table 2

Self-Esteem by Race
Percent Having High Self-Esteem

		Black	White
	Low	46.3%	57%
		(69)	(85)
Self-Esteem			
	High	53.7%	43%
		(80)	(64)
		100%	100%
	N	(149)	(149)

Sex, Race and Self-Esteem. The final step in the investigation focuses on whether or not the sex of the student is important in terms of self-esteem. When each racial group is broken down by sex, females of both groups are less likely to have high self-esteem, and within each racial group the differences between males and females are about the same (see Table 3). The results in Table 3 indicate that more than sixty percent of black males evaluate themselves in a positive manner, followed by white males, black females and white females, respectively.

Table 3

Self-Esteem by Race, by Sex
Percent Having High Self-Esteem

Males	Black Females	Males	White Females
61.2%	47.6%	52.0%	33.8%
(41)	(39)	(39)	(25)

The net result is that white females have significantly lower self-esteem than do any of the other groups.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, this study measured the self-esteem of 298 undergraduate black and white students enrolled in a predominantly white, state supported university in the Deep South. The findings reported here are consistent with earlier research in the following aspects: (1) blacks evince a level of self-esteem at least equal to that of whites; and (2) females of both races report lower self-esteem than do males, with white females reporting the lowest self-esteem of all. This consistency in different geographical and temporal contexts is extremely important given the controversy surrounding this entire topic and the widespread assumption that white discrimination and segregation depresses and debilitates the psyche of the average black person in the U.S.

The reported findings that blacks do not have lower self-esteem than whites may or may not be generalizable to studies utilizing small, nonrepresentative samples such as nursery school and kindergarten children, but they do warn against assuming that blacks suffer diminished self-evaluations. The findings reported during the course of this analysis suggest that black students, those participating in this investigation, appear to have resources enabling them to maintain a level of self-esteem at least equal to that of white students. These findings are interpreted here within the context of reference group theory and, for the most part, they are consistent with that approach. Moreover, the conclusions reached in this study are of a potentially sensitive nature and should be generalized with a measure of discretion.

The findings of this investigation also suggest that black persons, like white persons, live through threatening and oppressive situations without experiencing radical damage to a more stable self-image. The

inferences made here suggest that the psychic resources available to the black respondents are of longstanding existence rather than the product of a recently developed ideology. Similarly, the resources of psychic support seem to be available to the participants at varying educational levels and operate most effectively at self-esteem maintenance in the sphere of physical self, personal self, social self, and the overall level of self-esteem.

To ascertain the reasons why black respondents do not have lower self-esteem than whites requires explication and further research. The utilization of reference group theory, however, provides evidence that black respondents compare themselves with other blacks rather than whites. Thus, reference group theory serves as a basis for social comparison within the same race and socioeconomic position. In sum, the findings of this study support the earlier research that blacks compare themselves with other blacks rather than whites.

Notes

[1]Kenneth B. Clark. *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); E. Franklin Frazier. *Black Bourgeosie.* (New York: Basic Books, 1968); Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey. *The Mark of Oppression.* (New York: Norton, 1951).

[2]Hugh Butts. "Skin-Color Perception and Self-Esteem." *Journal of Negro Education.* Vol. 32, No. 1 (1963)122; Kenneth B. Clark and Mamie P. Clark. "Racial Identification and Preference in Negro Children." In T.M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology.* (New York: Holt, 1947); Mary E. Goodman. *Race Awareness in Young Children.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1952); Gary F. Jensen, C.S. White, and James M. Galliher. "Ethnic Status and Adolescent Self-Evaluations: An Extension of Research on Minority Self-Esteem." *Social Problems.* Vol. 30, No. 2 (1982)222-239; Catherine Landreth and Barbara C. Johnson. "Young Children's Responses to a

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[3]Darrel W. Drury. "Black Self-Esteem and Desegregated Schools." *Sociology of Education.* Vol. 53, (April, 1980)88-89.

[4]Morris Rosenberg and Roberta G. Simmons. *Black and White Self-Esteem: The Urban School Child.* (Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association, 1972); Gloria J. Powell and Marielle Fuller. *Black Monday's Children: A Study of the Effects of School Desegration on Self-Concepts of Southern Children.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973).

[5]The twenty-three comparisons in which blacks rate higher than whites in self-esteem are: Jerald G. Bachman. *Youth in Transition.* Volume II: *The Impact of Family Background and Intelligence on Tenth-Grade Boys.* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, 1970); J.G. Bachman and P.M. O'Malley. "Black-White Differences in Self-Esteem: Are They Affected by Response Styles?" *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 90, No. 3(1984)624-639; Robert L. Crain and Carol S. Weisman. *Discrimination, Personality, and Achievement.* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972); Jacqueline Fleming. *Blacks in College: A Comparative Study of Students Success in Black and in White Institutions.* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bas Publishers, 1984); Chad Gordon. *Self-Conception and Social Achievement.* Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963); Anthony R. Harris and Randall Stokes. "Race, Self-Evaluation and the Protestant Ethic." *Social Problems.* Vol. 26, No. 1 (1978)71-85; J.W. Hoelter. *Differential Impact of Significant Others on Self-Evaluation: A Multiple Group Analysis.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1981; J.W. Hoelter. "Factorial Invariance and Self-Esteem: Reassessing Race and Sex Differences." *Social Forces.* Vol. 61, No. 3 (1983)834-846; David E. Hunt and Robert H. Hardt. "The Effects of Upward Bound Programs on the Attitudes, Motivation and Academic Achievements of Negro Students." *Journal of Social Issues.* Vol. 25, No. 3 (1969)122-124; Melvin L. Kohn. *Class and Conformity: A Study in Values.* (Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1969); Edward L. McDill, Edmund D. Myers, Jr., and Leo C. Rigsby. *Sources of Educational Climate in High School.* (Final Report, Project No. 1999, Contract UOE-3-10-080 submitted to Bureau of Re-

search, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966); Robert L. McDonald and Malcolm D. Gynther. "Relationship of Self and Ideal-Self Descriptions with Sex, Race and Class of Southern Adolescents." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.* Vol. 1, No. 1 (1965)85-88; Keith D. Parker. "Relationships Between Self-Concept and Academic Achievement Among Black and White Undergraduate Students Enrolled at Delta State University." (Unpublished Manuscript, Mississippi State University, 1981); Keith D. Parker and David H. Demo. "Relationships Between Self-Concept and Academic Achievement Among Black and White Undergraduate Students at a Southern University." Paper presented at the Annual Mid-South Socological Meeting, Birmingham, Alabama, (October, 1983); Gloria J. Powell and Marielle Fuller. "School Desegregation and Self-Concept." Paper presented at the 47th Annual Meeting of American Orthopsychiatric Association (San Francisco, CA: 1970); Gloria J. Powell and Marielle Fuller, *Black Monday's Children.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973); Morris Rosenberg and Roberta G. Simmons. *Black and White Self-Esteem: The Urban School Child.* (Washington, D.C.: Rose Monograph Series, 1972); M. Schwartz and S. Stryker. *Deviance, Selves and Others.* (Washington, D.C.: Rose Monograph, 1970); J.F. Short and F. Strodtbeck. *Group Process and Gang Delinquency.* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965); Robert G. Simmons, Leslie Brown, Diane M. Bush, and Dale A. Blyth. "Self-Esteem and Achievement of Black and White Adolescents." *Social Problems* Vol. 26 (October, 1978)86-96; Gail E. Thomas. *Black Students in Higher Education: Conditions and Experiences in the 1970s.* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981); Castellano B. Turner and Barbara F. Turner. "Gender, Race, Social Class, and Self-Evaluations Among College Students." *The Sociological Quarterly.* Vol. 23 (Autumn, 1982)491-507; Marilyn M. Wendland. "Self-Concept in Southern Negro and White Adolescents as Related to Rural-Urban Residence." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1967).

The four comparisons indicating no significant difference are: Earl Baughman and W. Grant Dahlstrom. *Negro and White Children: A Psychological Study in the Rural South.* (New York: Academic Press, 1968); James S. Coleman, Ernest Q. Campbell, Carol J. Hobson, James McParland, Alexander M. Mood, Frederick D. Weinfeld, and Robert L. York. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966); J. Heiss and Susan Owens. "Self-Evaluation of Blacks and Whites." *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 78, No. 2 (1972)360; Robert L. Williams and Harry Byars, "Negro Self-

Esteem in a Transitional Society." *Personnel and Guidance Journal.* Vol. 47, No. 2(1968)120-125.

The five comparisons in which whites rate higher than blacks in self-esteem are: Robert L. Crain and Carol S. Weisman. *Discrimination, Personality, and Achievement.* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972); Chad Gordon. *Looking Ahead: Self-Concepts, Race and Family as Determinants of Adolescent Orientations to Achievement.* (Washington, D.C.: Rose Monograph Series, 1969); Melvin Herman, Stanley Sadofsky, Joseph Bensman, Robert Llienfeld, and Caterine Manas. *Study of the Meaning, Experience and Effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on Negro Youth Who are Seeking Work.* (New York: N.Y.U. Graduate School of Social Work, Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, 1967); Melvin L. Kohn. *Class and Conformity: A Study of Values.* (Homewood, IL: The Dorsey Press, 1969); Morris Rosenberg. *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image.* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

The thirty studies yield thirty-two comparisons, since Kohn's (1969) factor analysis produces two factors (self-deprecation and self-confidence) and Crain and Weisman (1972) report separate findings for Northern-and-Southern-Born blacks.

[6]Bachman, 1970; Harris and Stokes, 1978; Kohn, 1969; McDill et al., 1966; Powell and Fuller, 1973; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1972; Simmons et al., 1978.

[7]Kohn, 1969.

[8]Barry D. Adams. "Inferiorization and Self-Esteem." *Social Psychology.* Vol. 41, No. 1 (1978)47-53; Thomas F. Pettigrew. "Placing Adam's Argument in a Broader Perspective: Comment on Adam's Paper." *Social Psychology.* Vol. 41, No. 1 (1978)58-61; Roberta G. Simmons. "Blacks and High Self-Esteem: A Puzzle," *Social Psychology.* Vol. 41, No. 1 (1978)54-57.

[9]Marylee C. Taylor and Edward Walsh. "Explanations of Self-Esteem: Some Empirical Tests." *Social Psychology Quarterly.* Vol. 42, No. 3 (1979)242-253.

[10]Adams, 51.

[11]Powell and Fuller, 282.

[12]Ibid., 282.

[13]Drury, 90.

[14]Rosenberg and Simmons, 8.

[15]Taylor and Walsh, 242-243.

[16]John D. McCarthy and William L. Yancey. "Uncle Tom and Mr. Charlie: Metaphysical Pathos in the Study of Racism and Personal Disorganization." *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 76, No. 4(1971)664.

[17]William H. Fitts. *Manual for the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale*. (Nashville: Counselor Recordings and Tests, 1965).

[18]Ibid., 13.

Critique

"Self-Evaluation of Black and White College Students" presents informative results of a study concluding that blacks have higher self-esteem than whites at one Southern university. Although self-esteem in blacks at the university under study may be higher than that of whites, the same is not the case in elementary school districts throughout the Los Angeles Basin in Southern California.

An accurate assessment of self-esteem in blacks as a whole is an impossible task to achieve, but J. Kenneth Morland and Ellen Suthers show how pre-school black children see themselves vis-a-vis whites:

> There is probably an unconscious preference for and identification with [whites] by very young black children. Upon entry into school, especially when racial balance is practiced, black children learn clearly the race to which they belong [is inferior].[1]

Young children are likely to be open and honest about their basic emotions. University students, on the other hand, have learned to mask theirs. Making judgements about self-esteem appears to be a risky undertaking.

Although Parker uses reference group theory to partly explain self-esteem in blacks in his study (blacks compare themselves to other blacks rather than to whites), this critic wonders if something is being masked by the theoretical statement. If blacks compare themselves to other blacks rather than to whites, the basis for the author's argument is destroyed. Parker's study leaves it to the reader to clarify why his black students maintain higher self-esteem than whites.

Although the author maintains that black students "participating in this investigation appear to have resources enabling them to maintain a level of self-esteem equal to white students," and have the resources and networks of support as key elements for maintaining high self-esteem, the evidence presented in the article does not support the contention.

Parker's second finding shows a significant difference between males and females; males have higher self-esteem than females. Black females maintain higher self-esteem than white females. Parker offers no explanation for these phenomena, but leads the reader to assume the reference group theory as a viable explanation.

In sum, Parker offers some hope and solution to problems of low self-esteem in black college students, i.e., resources and networks. But Parker does not sustain his contention that blacks normally have higher self-esteem than whites.

—Lena Solis
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Note

[1]J. Kenneth Morland and Ellen Suthers. "Racial Attitudes of Children: Perspectives on the Structural Normative Theory of Prejudice." *Phylon*. Vol. XLI, No. 3 (Fall, 1980) 267-277.

Critique

The article by Keith D. Parker raises interesting theoretical and methodological questions, but this review focuses on the latter. The author is correct in his critical assessment of black self-esteem research (BSER) methodology. Projective measures have been used in most cases and questions have been raised regarding the validity of such self-esteem measures and therefore about the believability of BSER findings.[1] In addition, blacks and whites tested have not been representative of the general black or white communities of the United States, yet inferences to and comparisons of the populations have been made. Finally, studies have employed non-multivariate statistical techniques which have prevented the use of controls.

One would think that, having recognized this, Parker would have avoided these and other serious methodological errors, but he does not. Two principles of survey research must be respected as a matter of course. First, a researcher must clearly identify the population or populations to which he wants to infer his results. Second, subjects must then be selected *at random* to permit each individual in a given population to have an equal chance of being selected.

The author fails on both counts. He makes it clear that he wants to

compare blacks and whites in the "deep south," but he does not clearly define this location to permit drawing subjects from the appropriate populations. That the author himself ever formed a clear concept of the populations to which he wanted to generalize his findings given the specific methods that he used to draw the samples is doubtful. Subjects were selected from classes whose areas of study are not described (were they psychology classes, or what?) and all data came from a college which is not identified. Are we to assume that the classes had a representative sample of students from the college and that the college had a student body that is representative of the "deep south"? Definitely not. Black and white individuals were not selected at random so that it is not possible to infer the study's results to the appropriate populations nor the intergroup differences beyond the two specific samples collected. Thus, although he argues that his conclusions "... should be generalized with a measure of discretion," his findings are useless in terms of their generalizability.

Vital methodological information was not presented in the article. He failed to discuss how the multidimensional index of self-esteem was constructed. What procedures were used to insure that all items within a dimension consistently measure that construct? Were the items factor analyzed or were other tests for internal consistency undertaken? Psychometricians warn that one should not blindly study the relationship of a measurement scale with other variables without first demonstrating a scale's viability in a given sample. In addition, because scales are typically developed using white samples, scales are usually less valid and reliable when used with minority subjects.[2] This happens because, although a given psychological characteristic is common to two socio-cultural communities, it is often linguistically expressed in a different manner from culture to culture; thus, the wording of scale statements should be modified when non-comparative research is undertaken involving minority subjects. A scale can still be used with people of color without wording modifications in cross-cultural research so long as one can demonstrate that a measure is minimally valid and reliable. Unfortunately, these methodological issues are not discussed, nor are reliability estimates presented for each racial cohort.

Finally, in spite of the author's criticisms of the statistical procedures employed in BSER, his own analytical methods are seriously flawed. He fails to control for socioeconomic status and academic achievement, two variables that he admits are important. Such controls are suggested because, if racial groups are to be compared, black-white differences in social class and achievement levels have to be eliminated as alternative explanations for whatever black-white self-esteem differences that are

found. Statistical controls were avoided probably because of the statistical method that was employed, the contingency table approach, which makes the use of controls unlikely with small samples. The author should have used multiple regression or partial correlation analysis because these techniques permit multiple controls even with small samples.

Parker failed to use proper statistical techniques in other regards as well. Although he should have calculated a t statistic to compare each pair of means on every line of Table 1, he chose to compute them only in the last line. In addition, he should have calculated at least a chi square statistic to test whether there are sufficient self-esteem differences between the racial groups, or better yet, correlation coefficients like gamma or lambda to measure the degree of association between race and self-esteem. By not calculating these statistics, the author took it upon himself to create and employ some unidentified and unscientific criteria for judging statistical relationships. This defeated one of the most fundamental purposes of statistics.

Improper methodology has been a serious problem in social science research involving minority issues. It has typically involved investigations which have unfairly stereotyped minorities and resulted in unfortunate public policies.[3] This has resulted in a call by minority scholars for methodologically sound research on minorities.[4] Studies proposing hypotheses that minorities have superior characteristics to whites must be subject to the same standards of scientific inquiry that are expected of all research.

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Notes

[1]Louise H. Kidder and Charles H. Judd. *Research Methods in Social Relations* (fifth edition). (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1986).

[2]James A. Banks and Jean D. Grambs, eds. *Black Self-Concept: Implications for Education and Social Science.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972). Homer D. C. Garcia. "Offspring and Family Language Maintenance and Their Effects on Chicano College Students' Confidence and Grades." In R. Padilla and E. Garcia, eds. *Advances in Bilingual Research.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985).

[3]William Ryan. *Blaming the Victim.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1971).

[4]Octavio I. Romano. "The Anthropology and Sociology of Mexican-Americans." In Octavio I. Romano, ed. *Voices: Readings from El Grito.* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1973).

Puerto Ricans:
White or Non-White?
Robert A. Martinez

Introduction

The question of race and racial identity among Puerto Ricans has been one of great confusion and misunderstanding. The confusion and misunderstanding exist both among Puerto Ricans and Anglo-Americans. This is a study of the paradox of race perceptions among mainland-bred and island-bred Puerto Ricans. This study was undertaken to look at several related issues: What are the racial perceptions and attitudes held by Puerto Ricans, both on the island and the continental mainland? Further, to what extent has Americanization of Puerto Ricans affected those perceptions and attitudes? Likewise, what role does class consciousness and class mobility play? How do Anglo-American racial perceptions and attitudes affect the Puerto Rican's image of self? And finally, do individual variables such as one's skin color, ethnic identity or pride, personal prejudices or family background further affect these perceptions and attitudes? ·

The Study

Many studies have addressed the question of race and race relations among Puerto Ricans. Most notable among them are the works of Tumin and Feldman[1] and Eduardo Seda-Bonilla.[2] The literature concerning race relations among Puerto Ricans has proven to be at best, interesting, often times controversial and, even more often, inconclusive.

A further review of the literature reveals a paucity of studies concerning racial perceptions and racial attitudes held by Puerto Ricans. The question of how Puerto Ricans perceive themselves racially is a crucial question in terms of identity and self worth both on the mainland and on the island. On the mainland there is the tendency on the part of Anglo-America to relegate Pueto Ricans to a non-white category. And this has affected mainland Puerto Ricans as to where they can live and work and whether they have a sense of self worth and a positive self image, which ·

means achieving in school or in the labor force. The reaction of mainland Puerto Ricans, according to Seda-Bonilla is either acceptance of the non-white label as a defense mechanism or total rejection of their true identity to avoid the non-white stigma. On the island, with the over-whelming Americanization of the past thirty years and the recently emerged working middle class, the desire for a white identity is greater than ever. Tumin and Feldman showed how this was true in the labor force. Seda-Bonilla addressed the question of prejudice and discrimina-tion in housing, education, social institutions, and even public facilities at a conference on racism in Puerto Rico held at the University of Puerto Rico in 1980. To avoid the reality of prejudice, Puerto Ricans want to be white and to move up and out; they suffer from Seda-Bonilla's charge of cryptomelanism or fear of hidden blood of color. Add to all this that Puerto Ricans, more often than not, claim that they are not prejudiced and that color does not matter, one can understand this writer's curiosity to find out what the individual racial perceptions and attitudes held by Puerto Ricans are, both on the mainland and on the island.

Puerto Ricans think of themselves as a non-racist people, where color is not an issue and yet they take great pride in saying *son la gente mas clara* or they are the lightest (whitest) people in the Caribbean islands. The factor of color does matter in many aspects of social intercourse. So, the paradox is woof in the social fabric, with its origin in the early 16th century.

Blacks appeared in Puerto Rico as early as 1510 as slaves. Unlike neighboring islands, the plantation economy never flourished in Puerto Rico, because of Spain's restrictive mercantilism which envisioned the island more as a military outpost than as another sugar producing island, competing with the more profitable outputs of Cuba and Hispaniola. As a result, slavery never gained the foothold in Puerto Rico that it did in the other islands. And with the exception of a brief period in the mid-16th century when sugar experienced a short run of prosperity, slaves never accounted for more than fourteen percent of the total population. The majority of the labor force in Puerto Rico was free and that included a significant number of free blacks and mulattos. For example, the census figures of 1846, a peak year in slave labor, show that out of a total population of 443,139 people, nearly 176,000 (175,791) were free blacks and mulattos and 51,000 were slaves. Unlike her neighboring islands, Puerto Rico's economy was never exclusively dependent on slave labor. Consequently, the post emancipation period was generally free of racial vendettas and racial tension.

If one looks at the struggle for emancipation in Puerto Rico, one observes that the island gentry petitioned for abolition. The leading

Puerto Rican abolitionist, Segundo Ruiz Belvis, was the former owner of three hundred slaves who had kept his family in very comfortable circumstances. The final victory of emancipation in 1873 was anti-climatic. The struggle itself was just one more aspect of the overall struggle for freedom from Spain's oppressive colonialism. The quest for nationhood included the freedom of all and not just for the whites as was the case in this country's history, despite the exquisite rhetoric of "freedom for all," found in the U.S. Declaration of Independence.

The process of integration was natural and there never appeared the institutionalized forms of segregation that developed in the United States and which persisted in Cuba until Fidel Castro came to power. Also, a tremendous amount of transculturation occurred, leaving a very clear Afro imprint on the national culture of Puerto Rico. From this brief historical overview one can understand why Puerto Ricans claim no prejudice in their past and thus in their present. At the same time, they are quick to say they are the lightest or whitest of the islanders.

This whiteness arises from the significant immigration from Europe during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Settlers came not only from Spain but from Italy, Corsica, Sardinia, France, Ireland, and Germany. These immigrants, because of Spain's restrictive immigration policy, had Roman Catholicism in common. They made up the core of the merchant class and large scale farmers. Many settled in the interior of the island and in the large cities. The coastal plains, given exclusively to sugar cane, was owned by upper class whites and worked largely by lower class non-whites and blacks.

Clearly the matter of color was a matter of class. Traditionally the upper class was the predominantly white bourgeoisie while the lower class was predominantly non-white and racially mixed. So, class was equal to color. If a non-white or racially mixed individual should rise in class status, then that person was accorded the deference of that class and the color disappeared. These attitudes, however, changed with the emergence of a large middle class in the 1950s and 1960s. Under the old rigid class lines, everybody knew their place and thus all may have seemed harmonious and free of racial tension.

Was Puerto Rican society ever truly harmonious and free of tension? The question is even more difficult to answer in light of the extensive miscegenation that was openly practiced. It was not uncommon because of the promiscuous nature of the Latin double standard—he can, she can't. Thus, landowners had both their legitimate children and also the offspring of their many liaisons. This meant that family trees not only had many branches but also many colors. Consequently, this writer is always wary of the Latin who speaks of his grandfather who came from

Spain. What about the grandmother? One is reminded of the situation that the black American anthropologist, Zora Neal Hurston, saw in Jamaica in the 1930s. All the very light-skinned Jamaicans spoke about their British fathers and grandfathers. Hurston reported that the Jamaicans explained this by saying they were roosters who laid eggs! And so despite any historical explanation, the paradox still remains and we come back to the original question: what are the individual perceptions and racial attitudes held by Puerto Ricans? For the island Puerto Rican faced with the pressures of the new middle class syndrome and Americanization, whiteness is crucial to upward social mobility and advancement.

When a North American attempts to classify Puerto Ricans into a white or non-white category, a serious problem is created. The problem centers on the fact that after almost five centuries of miscegenation, Puerto Ricans range from all possible colors and shades. As Felipe Luciano put it, "We are the rainbow people." Of course there are those who fall into the customary fixed category of either black or white, but a great majority fall into intermediate categories, something this country does not recognize. And so in the United States someone like Lena Horne or Julian Bond is considered black despite the obvious difference in color from say Leontyne Price or Barbara Jordan. Joseph Fitzpatrick was one of the first Americans to recognize how this absence of intermediate categories created a problem for Puerto Ricans, particularly on the mainland.[4] Traditionally Puerto Ricans place more emphasis on hair texture (*pelo malo*—bad hair) than on skin color. Other physical attributes were cited such as lips, nose and then coloring. One is *trigueno* (literally wheat color or dark skinned), *moreno* (brown), mulatto, *jabao* (high yellow) and so forth. One should also note here, to add to the confusion, that the terms *negro* and *negra* are not racial classifications in Puerto Rico but merely terms of intimacy and endearment.

Melvin Delgado, speaking on this problem of intermediate categories, stated that traditionally Puerto Ricans were judged according to attributes rather than skin pigmentation.[5] They were not forced to choose between being black or white in order to survive in society. White America, on the other hand, is color blind to the point where they can only differentiate between whiteness and blackness. Consequently, those who fall in the middle spectrum must choose either of the two, *if* the choice is left to them.

To find out what those choices or perceptions are among Puerto Ricans a simple questionnaire was designed to elicit responses concerning one's identity and, in turn, one's perceptions towards others—whites and non-whites. The questionnaire, in English and Spanish, focused on issues

such as dating, marriage, schools, job market, socializing, public accommodations, place of residence, and familial and personal racial identification using yes-no responses.

The sample population consisted of one hundred mainland Puerto Ricans, those born and raised here, and one hundred island Puerto Ricans, those born and raised on the island and all now residing in New York City. The mainlanders were given the questionnaire in English, the islanders in Spanish. Male and female breakdown was considered.

The profile for the mainland group follows: The group was fifty females and fifty males. Eighty percent of the females identified themselves as Catholic and twenty percent as Protestant. The fifty males identified themselves as Catholic. Two thirds of the males and females identified themselves as middle class while the remaining one third said they were working class. Formal education for the group averages twelve years of schooling. Sixty-four percent of the males and eighty-eight percent of the females identified themselves as white while thirty six percent of the males and twelve percent of the females opted for the intermediate category of *trigueno* for identification. No one identified themselves as black, mulatto or other.

For island born Puerto Ricans, the profile reads: The group was fifty males and fifty females. Sixty percent of the females identified themselves as Catholic and forty percent as Protestant. For the island males the percentage of Catholic was forty-eight percent and fifty-two percent as Protestant. The males showed the same percentage breakdown for middle class (forty-eight percent) and working class (fifty-two percent) identification while fifty-two percent of the females said they were middle class as opposed to forty-eight percent who said they were working class. The median amount of formal education was also twelve years of schooling for the group. Sixty-four percent of the males and forty-eight percent of the females in this group identified themselves as white while thirty-six percent of the males and fifty two percent of the females identified themselves as *trigueno*. No one opted for black, non-white, mulatto or other.

Findings

Eighty percent of the island males felt it was more desireable to marry a Puerto Rican than a white American, while sixty percent indicated a preference for black Americans rather than white Americans. Their female counterparts showed a greater preference for white Americans. Sixty percent favored such a marriage while the remaining forty percent were split over their preference for Puerto Ricans and black Americans.

Mainland Puerto Ricans thought differently. Seventy six percent of

the males and eighty-eight percent of the females preferred to marry only Puerto Ricans and the remainder of males and females voiced a preference for non-white mates as opposed to white Americans. As for dating, both groups, islanders and mainlanders, indicated the same preferences as they did for marriage with one notable exception among the mainland females. Although they almost overwhelmingly preferred to marry Puerto Ricans and non-whites, almost half (forty-eight percent) favored dating white men.

Responses to questions concerning education and schools demonstrate more clearly the racial paradox among Puerto Ricans. Although ninety percent of the island born group felt private schools are better than public schools, eighty-six percent felt that blacks and Hispanics are better off in public schools. Among the mainlanders, ninety-two percent of the males agreed to the first statement and seventy-six percent the second. Mainland females answered affirmatively to the first statement (eighty-four percent) and disagreed with the second—only four percent agreeing that blacks and Hispanics were better off in public schools.

Concerning the question "The majority of Puerto Rican families have some family member with black (African) features," both groups answered affirmatively. That is, eighty-six percent of the mainlanders and seventy-six percent of the islanders agreed. A follow up question "But my family is an exception" showed a slight discrepancy among the mainlanders with seventy-eight responding "No." Among the islanders, however, fifty-eight percent acknowledged having family members with African traits.

As for socializing, with the exception of the island females, there was a consensus of opinion (one hundred percent) that it was more comfortable to dance in an all Puerto Rican or racially mixed club as opposed to an all-white club. The island born females expressed a forty percent preference for an all white American club and sixty percent preference for a racially mixed group as opposed to forty percent preference for an all-Puerto Rican disco.

Finally, concerning the question "Blacks and Puerto Ricans excel more in the arts than whites," responses were overwhelmingly positive with one hundred percent of the islanders and seventy-six percent of the mainlanders believing this to be the case.

Discussion and Conclusion

In reviewing the responses of both groups, one initially sees some over all consensus between them. However, one also notes that some responses were inconsistent with previous responses given to related statements (dating and marriage, schools and education). This may result from

some methodological weakness in the construction of the questionnaire or an example of the previously mentioned paradox of racial perceptions among Puerto Ricans. Nevertheless, some tentative conclusions can be made about both groups and their race perceptions. First, a stronger social identification between mainland Puerto Ricans and American blacks exists than island Puerto Ricans and blacks. Any number of socio-economic factors (housing, employment, poverty, education) on the mainland can account for this.

Both groups, however, believe that whites are economically superior to non-whites. Each believes that whites make more money and that they live in better neighborhoods. For Puerto Ricans in general, whites are seen as the most affluent group, thus confirming the notion that the gap between white and non-white continues. The groups are in agreement about blacks and Puerto Ricans excelling in the arts to a greater degree than whites. The islanders were much more affirmative (one hundred percent) about this than the mainlanders (seventy-six percent). Again, socioeconomic realities may very well account for this discrepency, including the homogeneity of Puerto Rican society for island Puerto Ricans.

All the respondents classified themselves as either white or *trigueno,* avoiding the classifications of black, mulatto or other. Perhaps the intermediate racial category is still significant among Puerto Ricans and the particular use of only this one, signifying merely darkness of skin reduces the possibility of racial stigmatizing since mulatto, *jabao,* and *moreno*, definitely indicate black blood. Thus, the conclusions of Renzo Sereno and Seda-Bonilla that Puerto Ricans suffer from cryptomelanism might hold true. The term cryptomelanism signals the racial insecurity of Puerto Ricans about general identity in their social relations with North Americans. Sereno specifically states, "Cryptomelanism seems to be an upper middle class and lower middle class phenomenon," and that "lower income people suffer from it only to a limited degree."[6] The respondents in both groups studied here identified themselves as primarily middle class and working middle class.

Further inconsistencies appear regarding group perception of Puerto Rican families, particularly among island Puerto Ricans. Although eighty-six percent of the mainlanders agreed that most Puerto Rican families have some members with African blood and seventy-eight percent agreed it was true in their own families, seventy-six percent of the islanders claimed it was true in general, but only fifty-eight percent said it was true of their own families. Perhaps the closer social identification among blacks and mainland Puerto Ricans accounts for this. Or as Tumin and Feldman noted, the emerging middle class phenomenon

resulting from Puerto Rico's rapid urban and industrial modernization is more imitative of the white, American middle class and might account for the greater personal denial among island Puerto Ricans.[7] The same factor would account for why island females are more prone to socialize with white Americans than their male and mainland counterparts in the survey.

Similar discrepencies can be seen in the responses to schools and education. Both groups overwhelmingly agreed that private schools are better than public schools. Yet both groups, to a lesser degree, felt that blacks and Hispanics are better off in public schools. Since mainland Puerto Ricans have come to believe that public education has failed them and their children, one can understand their preference for private schools. On the other hand their belief that public schools would treat blacks and Hispanics better than private schools might indicate a hidden fear of prejudice in schools they perceive as predominantly white. This would hold true for the island Puerto Ricans, as well, who believe also that blacks and Puerto Ricans are better off in public schools. Their preference for private schools, however, would stem from what Tumin and Feldman saw as a desire to socially escalate.[8] In this context one can clearly understand the rapid proliferation of private schools in Puerto Rico since the early 1960s.

The social mobility factor might account for why island females greatly favored marrying white Americans as opposed to everyone else favoring non-whites and Puerto Ricans. Joseph Fitzpatrick noted that white Puerto Rican females had the highest rate of outgroup marriage with white, American ethnics, which always means marrying up and out.[9] Considering how eighty-eight percent of the island females in this sample identified themselves as white easily explains their strong preference for white, American males.

According to the survey findings, one may tentatively conclude that any clear, concrete perceptions of racial identity among Puerto Ricans are lacking. The discrepencies in both groups clearly indicate that Puerto Ricans say one thing and mean another: to avoid or deny their reality. Any number of social, psychological, and economic factors either resulting from the Americanization of Puerto Ricans through the migratory experience or the vast Anglo-American influence in the island, coupled with a confusion resulting from the Hispanic heritage, can be called upon to explain it all.

Certainly the role of middle class values and aspirations among Puerto Ricans, as seen in this study and previously shown in the works of Tumin and Feldman and Eduardo Seda-Bonilla account or help explain this confusion. Those in the lowest and highest social strata have far less

confusion about racial identity, especially in light of the traditional Hispanic class-race perception. For the working middle class, the concern with upward mobility is coupled with the anxiety of whiteness and non-whiteness among individuals.

Further research focusing on more specific variables is needed to answer many questions still unanswered. As long as the discrepencies and confusions remain among Puerto Ricans, their ability to be cohesive as an ethnic group is severely limited. They will remain powerless by the divisions and denials.

Denying or confusing racial identity will not solve the inherent problems of racism. Neither will it do much for the subsequent generations who will only be hurt more by the continued lack of a positive self-image. This positive self-image can only come when individuals truly know who and what they are. Samuel Betances summed it up thus:

> ... the problem of color is serious enough in Puerto Rican life to complicate further the second generation's search for ethnicity on the mainland. As the second generation looks toward the island and toward their homes, they don't find a people who have solved the problem of black and white. Instead they find further reasons for added anxiety, confusion, and feelings of uncertainty. Pointing out that Puerto Rico does not have race riots does not solve the problem of a youngster who must not only deal with the world outside his home which is unsympathetic and at times cruel, but he also must confront his family and Puerto Rican neighbors who for reasons all their own seem to be making efforts toward concealment of color.[10]

These reasons for knowing are crucial enough to warrant more direct and extensive research on this topic. As Oscar Lewis stated, *"No se puede tapar el cielo con la mano,"* or "You can't cover up the sky with your hand."[11] Neither can we persist to cover up or ignore the many controversies concerning the question of racial identity among Puerto Ricans.

Notes

[1]M. Tumin and A. Feldman. *Social Class and Social Changes in Puerto Rico*. (Princeton, New Jersey: University Press, 1961).

[2]Eduardo Seda-Bonilla. "Social Structure and Race Relations." *Social Forces*. Vol. 40 (December, 1961) 189-200.

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]J. Fitzpatrick and D. Guark. *Hispanic Intermarriage in New York City: 1975*. (New York: Hispanic Research Center, Fordham University, Monograph No. 2, 1975).

[5]Melvin Delgado. "Mental Health and the Puerto Rican: Psycho-therapeutic Obstacles in the Delivery of Services." (New York: Un-published paper presented at Columbia University's School of Social Work, May 29, 1972).

[6]Renzo Sereno. "Cryptomelanism: A Study of Color Relations and Personal Insecurity in Puerto Rico." *Psychiatry* Vol. X (August, 1947) 260-272.

[7]M. Tumin and A. Feldman, 237.

[8]*Ibid, 237.*

[9]J. Fitzpatrick and D. Guark, 85

[10]Samuel Betances. "Race and the Search for Identity." *The Rican* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall, 1971) 4-13.

[11]Oscar Lewis. *La Vida* (New York: Random House, 1965) xiii.

APPENDIX:
ENGLISH AND SPANISH QUESTIONNAIRE

NONWHITE = BLACK AND HISPANIC

RELIGION _____ SEX _____

CLASS _____ YEARS OF
FORMAL
MAINLAND BRED
PUERTO RICAN _____ EDUCATION _____

		YES	NO
(1)	Private schools are better than public schools.	( )	( )
(2)	It is more preferable to date a nonwhite than a white person.	( )	( )
(3)	It is more preferable to marry a white person than a nonwhite.	( )	( )
(4)	It is more preferable to study with a white person than a nonwhite.	( )	( )
(5)	The atmosphere in the workplace is more comfortable if there are more white people than nonwhite.	( )	( )
(6)	It is more preferable to live in a Puerto Rican neighborhood than in a white neighborhood.	( )	( )
(7)	It is more preferable to live in a racially mixed neighborhood than in a white neighborhood.	( )	( )
(8)	Dancing is more comfortable in an all white club.	( )	( )
(9)	Dancing is more comfortable in a racially mixed club.	( )	( )
(10)	Dancing is more comfortable in a Puerto Rican club.	( )	( )
(11)	Nonwhites are better off in public schools.	( )	( )
(12)	White people make more money than nonwhites.	( )	( )
(13)	Nonwhites live in better neighborhoods than whites.	( )	( )
(14)	Nonwhites live in neighborhoods similar to those that white people live in.	( )	( )
(15)	The majority of Puerto Rican families have some family members with black (African) features.	( )	( )
(16)	But my family is an exception.	( )	( )
(17)	How would you classify yourself? (A) WHITE (B) BLACK (C) MULATTO (A) (D) TRIGUENO (A) (E) OTHER _____		
(18)	Nonwhites tend to excell more in the arts than whites.	( )	( )

47

Que se considera usted?   (A) BLANCO(a)   (B) NEGRO(a)   (C) MULATO(a)
(D) TRIGUENO(a)   (E) OTRO _____

RELIGION _____

SEXO _____

CLASE _____

ANOS DE EDUCACION ESCOLAR _____

		SI	NO
(1)	Las escuelas privadas son mejores que las escuelas publicas.	( )	( )
(2)	Es preferible casarse con un norteamericano(a) que con un(a) Puertorriqueno (a).	( )	( )
(3)	Es preferible casarse con un(a) norteamericano(a) que con un(a) Negro(a) americano(a).	( )	( )
(4)	El ambiente del trabajo es mas comodo cuando hay mas Puertorriquenos y Negros americanos que norteamericanos.	( )	( )
(5)	Es mas preferible vivir en un vecindario norteamericano que un vecindario Puertorriqueno.	( )	( )
(6)	Es mas comodo bailar en un club racialmente integrado.	( )	( )
(7)	Es mas comodo bailar en un club norteamericano.	( )	( )
(8)	Es mas comodo bailar en un club Puertorriqueno.	( )	( )
(9)	Los hispanos y negros americanos estan mejor en las escuelas publicas.	( )	( )
(10)	Los hispanos y negros americanos ganan mas dinero que los norteamericanos.	( )	( )
(11)	Los norteamericanos viven en vecindarios mejores que los hispanos y negros americanos.	( )	( )
(12)	Los hispanos y negros americanos viven en vecindarios semejantes a los vecindarios norteamericanos.	( )	( )
(13)	Los hispanos y negros americanos se superan mas en los deportes que los norteamericanos.	( )	( )
(14)	Los hispanos y negros americanos se superan mas en las bellas artes (bailar, pintar) que los norteamericanos.	( )	( )
(15)	La mayoria de las familias Puertorriquenas tienen familiares con raza africana.	( )	( )
(16)	Pero mi familia es una excepcion.	( )	( )

48

Critique

Race, class and identity—key ethnic issues of the 1980s—have been analyzed from various disciplinary perspectives, and Martinez's article is a contribution to the growing number of written assessments concerning racism and classism in the United States. His research explores the psychological and social perceptions of color, race, identity, and class among Puerto Ricans living in the United States and in Puerto Rico.

Color—white or non-white—which is significant within a mainland U.S. socio/historical context takes on different meaning for island Puerto Ricans. And yet, historical and economic exploitation by white Americans has effectively altered identity perceptions based on visible color and class orientation. Although Martinez concludes that island Puerto Ricans classify themselves as white and acknowledge miscegenation, few perceive themselves as having any familial ties to blacks. Mainland Puerto Ricans do align themselves socially and politically with blacks, however.

Color—the amount of melanin in skin pigmentation—and the cultural perception and attitudes color differentiation has on identity development are critical areas of study in examining race, class, and mental health issues. Perception of color as a cultural phenomenon exists among ethnic peoples throughout the world. The Japanese, for example, believed themselves to be "white" even after European contact. The ideology of color, "whiteness" as related to wealth and not having to work out in the sun, and class are key issues for Japanese identity. When color is used as a form of class differentiation and used to subvert a people's cultural consciousness, confusion and mental health problems may develop.

Martinez suggests how the differences in color perception between Puerto Ricans living on the mainland and the island stem from external forces, i.e., a white cultural value system and a capitalist economy. As Puerto Ricans accept the values imparted by a capitalist economic situation and see whites as the emblems and models of monetary success, their identity is transformed. The transformations of Puerto Rican identity differ in degree but not in quality. Although island Puerto Ricans fear the one drop syndrome, "cryptomelanism," and miscegenation with blacks, class concerns account for other variations in identity development. The author shows how identity confusion appears as the most prevalent perception among both mainland and island Puerto Ricans as race, class, and varying acceptance of white values become integrated into the personality profile.

Dialectical analyses of race and class among peoples of color, especially blacks, is a primary issue among sociologists and economists in attempt-

ing to interpret race relations, racism, and capitalism in the United States. William Julius Wilson's *The Declining Significance of Race* and Mario Barrera's *Race and Class in the Southwest* examine capitalism and American racism upon the lives of blacks and Mexican/Mexican Americans. The research while addressing racism and economic labor exploitation does not focus on ethnic group identity or hidden problems associated with the groups studied. The one drop rule in the United States categorizing people along black or white racial axis has created a genre of literature and social science studies concerning mulattos, miscegenation, and "passing." The significance of Martinez's article is his presentation of a comparative analysis of race and class issues in terms of the effect American white values have had on Puerto Ricans living in the United States and those living in Puerto Rico.

The genre of literature focusing on the "tragic mulatta" theme in such works as William Wells Brown's *Clotelle* and Nella Larsen's *Passing* clearly illustrate psychological problems inherent in a "white-superior" "colored-inferior" American value system. Within a capitalist economy, island Puerto Ricans perceive themselves as being white and aspiring upper class status. Few families openly admitted to Afro-hispanic race mixture. The fear of cryptomelanism is a little-explored psychological development in Puerto Rican identity formation. In future studies, Martinez or others might address directly with their respondents the notion of cryptomelanism and examine the validity and reasons for the "fear of hidden blood of color." Are these values self imposed or externally derived?

—Barbara L. Hiura
University of California, Berkeley

Critique

When the first Dutch missionaries reached the far shores of Java, they heard rumors of a recently captured large white monkey being held in a remote village. By the time the missionaries reached the village, however, the mysterious monkey had vanished. They found only the post where it had been tied. Chiseled in stone nearby in Latin, English and Dutch were these words: "Help! I am a Dutch sailor."

No white monkeys are found in zoos today. Similarly, a papal decree declaring Indians in the Western Hemisphere to be human beings is no longer required. Nevertheless, folk classificatory systems based upon observable human racial attributes continue to be important. Puerto Rican distinctions between white, black, mulatto(a), and trigueno(a) are current examples.

Questions of race and of racial identity have contradictory places in American and Puerto Rican societies. Robert Martinez points out correctly that we remain confused or perhaps self-deluded about the importance of biological racial variation and about the role of race in society. Martinez's survey illuminates well how race is defined in biological classificatory terms for social purposes. The Puerto Ricans, whom he studied in New York City and in Puerto Rico, understand very well the social basis for race relations, while feigning ignorance in polite company.

Racial variation is a primary means for identifying and classifying human groups and individuals. But racial variation among our species is no longer a vital area of study in anthropology or in biology. Except for quite specific problems in human biology, for example, the distribution of sickle cell anemia, the biological question of race is moot.

Notwithstanding our knowledge of human biology, however, observable racial attributes and racial identity remain primary elements of overt and covert folk taxonomies. We "know" biological differences do not matter; abundant civil rights laws and regulations state that political, economic, and social differences based on race ought not or cannot matter. But race matters and everyone knows it. It is the way in which we classify racial differences that changes, not the ability or the willingness to draw distinctions.

Interestingly, all of Martinez's respondents classified themselves as white or as trigueno(a). There were no intermediate categories. "Hispanic" and "Spanish surname," the all encompassing terms for governmental nose counters, did not appear. Martinez suggests many historical and social reasons for his results, for the absence of intermediate categories, for the absence of any self-classification as a black or as a mulatto(a), and for differences in race relations generally in Puerto Rico and in New York. Certainly, racial identity, self-image, self-worth, attitudes toward interracial marriages, economic status, class consciousness, and class mobility are partial explanations of racial perceptions in Puerto Rican society.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of Martinez's study for the general reader is the contrast between Puerto Rican self-classification in New York City and in Puerto Rico. While the ratio of white to trigueno men

was the same, only twelve percent of Puerto Rican women in New York considered themselves as triguena in Puerto Rico. As Martinez suggests, these results reflect the contrasts between a relatively homogeneous society in Puerto Rico and an ethnically diverse New York society, where Puerto Ricans are a distinct ethnic minority and are associated with blacks.

The questionnaire used in New York City was in English; "trigueno(a)" is a category used in Latin America, but not in North America. Perhaps, many trigueno(a) have simply "translated" their identity into the local idiom? More important, why does American society not use the term or its functional equivalent? Why are there few, if any, racial categories for "mixed races," at least in society at large? Putting aside any implicit or explicit inferences of "fear of hidden blood of color," why are there no common racial subcategories in American society? There are no trigueno(a); "dark" Mediterranean Italians and Spaniards, and "light" Nordic Swedes and Germans are all equally white. Interestingly, Mediterranean, Nordic and trigueno(a) are not parallel vernacular terms. The Puerto Rican experience aside, what do American folk taxonomic categories concerning race and racial identity tell us about American society as a whole?

Do white monkeys from Java reside at the zoo still?

—Terry Simmons
Walnut Creek, California

Abstracts from the Fourteenth Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies "Ethnic Identity: Visions and Revisions" Fresno, California February 26-March 1, 1986

The following abstracts and respondent comments reflect the variety of responses to the Conference theme "Visions and Revisions" and suggest the multiple ways in which participants approached both the pedagogical and theoretical aspects of ethnic studies.

SESSION I — SOCIETAL DEFINITIONS
Chair: Helen MacLam, *Choice*

Samuel Henry, San Jose State University. **"Characteristics of Employment Equity in Academia."**

   The desegregation of the workforce in higher education has not been accomplished because the working concepts have been unclear. Attempts to inform practice from faulty models or create theory without analysis being grounded in situational behavior have left gaps in academic and public understanding of this social technology. To remedy errors in conceptualization and practice, we must make use of techniques which have closer linkage between theory and practice. This presentation uses emergent theory to build the characteristics of a model of employment equity in academia.

Paul R. Magocsi, University of Toronto. **"Are the Armenians Really Russian? — Or how the U.S. Census Bureau Classifies America's Ethnic Groups."**

   This presentation analyzes the manner in which the Census Bureau classified the disparate open-ended answers to ancestry given by Americans of European origin. The open-ended question technique is appropriate and should be used again in 1990. However, the classification of the responses must be seriously reconsidered and revised, since many distinct ethnic groups were subordinated to other ancestry group classifications and therefore statistically ceased to exist. This detailed analysis, with its several appendices showing the 1980 classifications and proposed revisions for 1990, suggests that the number of ancestry group classifications for Europe should be increased from 50 to 85, although as many as 19 will probably be statistically insignificant and be subsumed under "Other," reducing the basic revised list to approximately 66.

Larry H. Shinagawa and Gary Kawaguchi, University of California, Berkeley. **"An Empirical Test of the Model Minority Thesis."**

   Current literature of Asian Americans stresses the idea that Asian Americans are "model minorities"—a minority group that is racially defined yet able to surmount the barriers of skin color and racial prejudice by dint of hard work, quietness, and perseverance. Under the theoretical model of human capital, Asians have been depicted as either surpassing or possessing the same human capital characteristics of whites, thereby resulting in higher or parity wages vis-a-vis whites.

Respondent: Stewart Rodnon, Rider College

   This session on societal definitions was impressive because of the variety and scope of the three papers. The first dealt with desegregation or "employment equity" in academia; the second focused on lack of clarity in defining ethnic groups; the third was an empirical analysis of the "model minority" view of Asian ethnics. A synthesis might suggest that the usual twin evils of money and racism are occurring here; if one adds bureaucratic insensitivity or ignorance to these two factors, probably there lie the operative commonalities.

   Beginning with the concept that colleges are complex, Henry sees higher educational institutions as interested in "defending the elitism" of those who can afford it and who have had tradition of access to higher education; often excluded are those not familiar with the " practices and patterns of academia." He further asserts that the system places "women and minorities into ghettoized jobs or departments whose scholarship is always suspect." Henry's paper suggests seven adaptability problem areas, analyzes their contents, and suggested sensible routes toward implementing responses. His suggestion that we must "consciously engineer" the means for diverse groups to work cooperatively and efficiently together merits attention.

   Magocsi's paper is learned not only in its delineation of the myriad of ethnic components but also in its precise analysis and classification of these complex groupings. His overriding logical arguments for compartmentalizing various geographical segments seemed eminently sensible. In addition, I liked his arguments on the moral, as well as scholarly, grounds for Jews to be recognized as a distinct ethnic group. A question which I found tantalizing was that of biases or ignorance in the original bureaucratic laying out of the various ethnic groupings.

   The third paper, by Kawaguchi and Shinagawa, examined five propositions about Asian Americans, that "model minority." The economic system here likes to present "good news" about minority economic success, in effect saying "look you other minorities what hard work has done and can do; now you do it, too, instead of being lazy and shiftless." The fallacy, i.e., truly an unequal status role for people of color and for new immigrant groups, is perpetuated in several myths, five of which this paper focused on. In each case, the authors, using an empirical test model, demonstrate that these society-satisfying generalizations do not hold. This was a sensible and pragmatic analysis, which deserves publication.

SESSION II — HEALTH DELIVERY SYSTEMS
Chair: Carlos Ortega, California State University, Northridge

Gordon Cappelletty, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno. **"Hmong Psychological Distress."**

   Hmong are a minority group found in the countries of China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. Beginning in 1980, the central valley of California began to experience a rapid influx of southeast Asian refugees, many of whom are Hmong. Hmong have experienced a great deal of difficulty adjusting to modern industrialized society. This presentation presents findings from a pilot study conducted at the Merced County, California, Community Counseling Center. The purpose of this pilot was to discern the manner by which Hmong express psychological distress and mental illness. The findings, based on twenty-nine Hmong seen at the Counseling Center, suggest that there are three main ways in which psychological distress is expressed by this group of people: 1) Hostility; 2) Depression; and 3) Anxiety/Tension.

Albert Inclan, University of Florida, Gainesville. **"Communicating Across Cultures — The Importance of Connotative Meaning and Intent."**

Language is the most powerful tool a therapist possesses when dealing with a client. And communication is the most powerful medium. But what happens when the cultural background of the client influences behavior in ways which a therapist from a different culture is not able to perceive? Likewise, when we translate an assessment tool into a foreign language the *intent* of the original version must be known, for how else can the proper word be chosen in the target language which would serve as an equivalent stimulus in another tongue? This presentation will address these questions and others which, taken cumulatively, will stress the importance of the subjective meaning of language, both in its written and oral forms.

Joseph Sacks, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno. **"Cross Cultural Differences in Dream Content of Adolescents."**

A dream questionnaire and measures of three personality variables were administered to 48 Chicano, 31 black, and 30 Anglo adolescents. Compared with the other groups, blacks reported more dreams of good fortune and friendly interaction; fewer dreams of aggression and misfortune; they scored lower on both external locus of control dimensions. Chicanos reported more dreams of aggression and scored higher on external-social locus of control. Anglos reported more dreams of good fortune than Chicanos, and fewer dreams of friendly interaction. For the combined groups, significant relationships were found between the personality variables of locus of control, perceived stress and death anxiety with dreamed aggressions, achievement outcomes and misfortune.

Ella Lacey, Southern Illinois University, School of Medicine. **"Enhancing Interpersonal Skills for Ethnic Diversity in Medical Practice."**

Minority groups are overrepresented as patients in the medical care system; they are underrepresented as physicians in the same system. Statistical projections consistently predict increasing proportions of our future higher education student population will be minority group members. Such a scenario illustrates that medical education needs to prepare its students for understanding and appreciating perspectives of health and medical care that differ from one's own perspective. A model for such preparation was developed and tested at Southern Illinois University School of Medicine. Implementation of the model should be considered for similar settings and model modifications for other settings.

Respondent: Mary Ludwig, California State University, Fresno.

SESSION III — REFLECTIONS IN LITERATURE
Chair: Judy Antell, University of California, Berkeley

James E. Walton, Mount Union College. **"The Student as Reader of *Invisible Man:* The Use of Culture and Artistic Freedom."**

The position taken by Addison Gayle and other critics on Ralph Ellison's enduring *Invisible Man* is untenable. The position is that the novel is flawed because it does not advocate a specific solution to political and social problems. *Invisible Man* should be viewed as emblematic of the diversity and heterogeneity of the black cultural experience in America. Looking for the coherent statement and nurturing nascent feelings of racial pride and solidarity, many students sense an element of betrayal in *Invisible Man* for its unflattering portrayal of the nameless hero's various encounters with Trueblood, Bledsoe, the Brotherhood, and Ras the Destroyer. The challenge for the instructor is to get students to deal openly and honestly with Ralph Ellison.

Lee Hadley and Ann Irwin, Iowa State University. **"A Problem in Double Vision."**

Why doesn't Hadley Irwin mind her own business? Why doesn't she write a book about a Welsh Quaker who grows up in the little town of What Cheer, Iowa? If she were bright, she would. Unfortunately she is embarked on a journey outside herself, outside

her background, outside her vision. To be a Hapa (half Japanese, half Caucasian) searching for the family of her Japanese father only to discover the devastating account of the American concentration camps of World War II—something her history classes overlooked—is the problem of Kim, the central character in the work-in-progress, *Kim Kimi*. Several fine non-fiction young adult books have been written by Japanese Americans who experienced that trauma, but no one has attempted to explore in fiction the psychological effect of the camps on third and fourth generation Japanese Americans. The proposed presentation will discuss the problems Hadley Irwin is dealing with in the novel, the difficulties of shaping the research into fictional form, and the coming to terms with the author's own experience and sense of history.

Richard F. Fleck, University of Wyoming. "Kiowa Identity in *The Way to Rainy Mountain*."

My final experiment with teaching N. Scott Momaday's *Way to Rainy Mountain* was to set up a traditional tipi at the site of ancient Plains Indian tipi rings north of Laramie. The class read the book inside a tipi with strength and with insightful inspiration. Their interpretations of passages, their questions after the reading were by far the most enthusiastic of any of my classes over a fifteen-year period of teaching *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. Oral interpretation on a spiritually significant site can greatly enhance the teaching of this significant literary work.

Gretchen M. Bataille, Iowa State University. " 'Pioneer' Indian Women: Visions and Revisions."

This presentation examines alternative views of the concept of the "frontier" and the images of "pioneers," using as source material the autobiographies of American Indian women. Many of these life stories, some narrated and some written, reflect on the experiences of Indian women whose lives were contemporaneous with white and black pioneer women. The narratives of these women's lives provide a picture of the frontier from the other side of the mythical boundaries of "American" history.

Respondent: Chuck Grose, Mankato State University

The four papers examine identity issues of racial minority individuals and groups through the use of autobiographies, nonadvocacy artistic expressions, and a "novel" approach to developing fiction. The groups addressed are American Indian (Bataille and Fleck), black American (Walton), and Japanese American (Hadley/Irwin). Pertinent "outside-of-class" environs, oral rendition, student panels, and a hypothetical interview are among the action components designed to increase cognitive and effective involvement by the learner.

Overall, the main strengths of the papers seem to be in the choice of sources and appropriate learning methodologies. It could be fruitful to compare and contrast the identity struggles articulated in the papers with the struggles of persons from other minority groups. If the "common goal of all arts is to speak directly to our inner being," then what new insights did those presenting papers contribute to the search for that goal?

Into the fabric of the four presentations are woven several themes. 1. Minorities need to speak for themselves. Then valid interpretations serve as a complement. 2. We are aware again in literature of how minorities engage in culture switching, moving back and forth between their own communities and the dominant community. 3. Sensitivity to one's inner "voices"/directions and encounters are the challenge to everyone. 4. Priority needs to be given to autobiography, both nonfictional and fictional. 5. Explicitly and implicitly, the presenters reminded us of how minority literature challenges us to raise questions.

SESSION IV — EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY
Chair: Susan Middleton-Keim, California State University, Stanislaus

Patricia Bauknight, University of Arkansas at Little Rock. "The Impact of Parenting on the Black Teenage Mother."

The birth of a baby to a teenage parent is oftentimes a catastropic event with significance for the present and future of both child and mother. To discuss teenage pregnancy and being a parent without discussing the influence of the surrounding evironment is impossible. The birth of a baby to a black teenager has a double negative impact. This presentation explores the impact of being a teenage parent on the black child; factors associated with them are examined as they relate to the black adolescent female.

Linda M.C. Abbott, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno. "Ethnic Dimensions in Marital Satisfaction."

Forty married couples were drawn evenly from Fresno's Asian, black, Hispanic, and white populations to participate in taped interviews and questionnaire completion. Twelve hypotheses concerning the relationship of a number of variables to marital satisfaction were tested. A number of provocative findings emerged, although not always in the predicted direction. Subscales indicated some intriguing ethnic differences, although the sample size is too small to warrant generalizations. A major finding was increasing disatisfaction with marriage reported as the number of children increased. Other findings, such as increased satisfaction when husbands worked more hours at home than away, warrant further investigation. Overall, the study indicates a need for increased attention to these issues.

D. De Beau Davis, Southeast Clinic, Los Angeles. "Children from Families of Addiction."

Children whose mothers were addicted to narcotics during pregnancy were found to score lower on neuropsychological and intellectual tests and to score in the more disturbed direction on behavioral measures than control group children. The children whose mothers were addicted to methadone displayed greater deficits and problem behavior than children whose mothers were addicted to heroin. Related clinical and ethical issues are discussed.

Respondent: Pamela Hawkins, California State University, Fresno

So far we have peered through several windows in order to examine some of the factors which are relevant to the evolution of the family. Sociologists have always looked with great interest on the institution of the family, mainly because we tend to see the family as the most basic of all institutions, and perhaps also because there are such tremendous variations in family practices from one culture to another. These variations never cease to fascinate, and ethnocentrism plays a part in this fascination. Many people are convinced that their own way is the right and best way, and they are amazed to find other people behaving differently. This ethnocentrism is unfortunate. These issues can be placed in better perspective if we examine cross-culturally some similarities and differences in family structure.

If we look at the American family over the last hundred years or so, we can see a number of changes. The family is smaller than it used to be—there are fewer children and fewer adults. Birth rates have been dropping in the United States over a long period of time, with the result that the 1970s had the lowest rates on record. The American family is also small in that it is a nuclear rather than an extended family. The extended family of a century ago had aunts, uncles, parents, grandparents, and children all assembled under the same roof. Compare that with the nuclear family of today and think of the differences in roles, division of labor, diffusion of responsibilities, child care, expression of affection and emotion, and individual freedom. The change from the extended to the nuclear family brought tremendous changes in the roles of individual family members. The family of today is segregated: Each segment of that large extended family of one hundred years ago now lives by itself as a separate family unit.

Today's family is probably more egalitarian and less patriarchal. People share authority more than they used to, and women are making many of the important

decisions. The woman has developed equality in other ways relating to family structure. She is more likely to be working outside of the home while married. The possibility of career has given her alternatives to early marriage or even marriage at all. If she does marry, she has a greater say in which mate to choose and in the type of role she will play as wife. Likewise, equality has brought major changes in the role of males: unusual words like "househusband" and "paternity leave" are creeping into the vocabulary.

Among ethnically diverse groups, the family patterns reveal some similarities as well as tremendous variations from America mainstream families. Anthropologists have found that the structure of the family is almost infinitely variable around the world. Imagine almost anything, and there is probably a society someplace that practices it. Of course, the people there would be shocked if they knew the strange things we were doing! The point to be made is that there is a divergent pull of cultural heritage and American norms which poses additional stress and conflict on people within minority groups. They must struggle to maintain roots, while establishing an individual identity. In doing this, they confront the "isms" that are prevalent in our culture (i.e., racism, sexism, classism, ageism, etc.). The importance of this struggle cannot be underestimated. Cherrie Moraga writes in *This Bridge Called My Back,* "I think: What is my responsibility to my roots—both white and brown, Spanish speaking and English? I am a woman with a foot in both worlds; and I refuse to split" (Moraga, 1981:34).

An examination of family patterns in different cultures provided insight into the relativity of diverse roles and dispels the notion that the behavior aspect of families' members in American culture are innate. The use of the term "stability" implies a situation where husband and wife are both present. Some, however, might wish to extend the term to cover the one-parent family where the remaining parent keeps the children with him or her, and seeks to provide for and to socialize them. This situation is precisely the adaptation to reality that many families have evolved and that adaptation can indeed be labeled a stable or constant situation. The two-parent family is often referred to as the dominant family form throughout western society, not because it is considered to be better than any other form but because at the level of values it is what the majority of adults prefer.

The explanation for at least some of what is happening to the family is not difficult to find. Society changes and its institutions change as well. Fewer bonds tie family members together today, and the consequences are seen in divorce and in young people leaving home earlier. Both parents are more likely to be working, meaning that children may be supervised less closely than they used to be or that outside agencies, day-care centers for example, play an increasingly important role in family life. Less desire for having children, along with increased freedom and independence for women, have led to increasingly diverse arrangements for satisfying affectional and emotional needs. It is likely that we will see more changes and redefinitions in the family as other aspects in society continue to change.

Part of coming to grasp with the evolution of the family requires that the issue of family be demystified. Notions of family are often fixed firmly on "what was" or "what should be." We often forget that family issues fall in the cultural domain. Culture does not exist in a vacuum, nor is it fixed or unchanging. On the contrary, culture is in constant flux. More important, culture is an integral part of a larger social process.

Considering these points, the mandate for social inquiry is to not simply take family patterns/problems at face value but relate these patterns/problems to the larger social matrix in which they are embedded. Put another way, we must examine the internal divisions of our society by exploring various dimensions of the family while also scrutinizing the forms of social organization that foster integration and/or conflict.

The tendency of modern social thought has been to treat family as a given and to explore it without due consideration to its historical and structural foundations. Thus, to demystify the evolution of the family, the exploration of how social forces influence the form and content of family is required.

In conclusion, we need an examination of the specific relationships between families of all varieties *and* a broad array of historical, economic, political, and social factors if we are to come to terms with the evolving family.

SESSION V — COMMUNITY CONCERNS
Chair: Itibari M. Zulu, California Institute of Pan African Studies

Farah Gilanshah, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse. **"Ethnic Identity and Community Formation: The Case of Iranians in The Twin Cities."**

> *The Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups in America* lists the Iranian Americans as among the least studied ethnic groups in the annals of American ethnicity. At the same time, it is especially deserving of research as one of the more recent ethnic groups from the developing world and a group whose fate has been shaken by two major crises of the 1970s: the oil crisis and the hostage crisis, when members of the American embassy were seized by students at the same time the late Shah was given temporary asylum for medical treatment in the United States.

Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse. **"Thomas Sowell On Civil Rights Vision: More Rhetoric Than Reality?"**

> This presentation reviews and analyzes Thomas Sowell's critique of civil rights vision as presented in his book, *Civil Rights: Rhetoric or Reality?* It also examines his role in the increasingly acrimonious debate generated by the dissenting views of scholars like him, Walter Williams, Richard Rodriquez and most recently, Glenn Loury. Finally, it assesses the prospects of civil rights in the 1980s and beyond.

Carol Wilson, Adult Literacy Project, Fresno County Free Library. **"Bias in English as a Second Language or English for Speakers of Other Languages Materials."**

> One of the issues in presenting or designing instructional materials is bias—either racial or sexual. Much material designed to teach English to non-English speakers contains both types of bias. Some have argued that since most societies exhibit one degree or another of sexual bias, in particular, that it is unimportant to make an issue of it in language learning. This author argues that the historical existence of bias is no reason to perpetuate it. Some have said that the goal for many groups, especially refugees, is to quickly acquire enough language to survive in a difficult or different culture, so, that to be concerned with sexism/racism is distracting from the main goal of emergency language lessons. However, it seems to the author that this argument overshadows and inhibits the ability to break down such barriers in society as a whole.

Respondent: Gretchen Bataille, Iowa State University

> The notion of language is common to the topics of the three presenters. Language gives shapes to reality; it defines what the world is at a given moment. When Jonathan Majak quotes Thomas Sowell that we are in "post civil rights" era, what does that mean? Are we *beyond* civil rights? Are civil rights no longer a concern—and is it because we must assume all persons have achieved them or because we must now move on to another era, a new political agenda? Sowell, and others, will create a new reality. We can be lulled into believing that those who "have made it" speak for all those who cannot or do not speak for themselves. Anyone who viewed the television special on the crisis of black families knows that the term "post civil rights" is meaningless in any tangible sense.
>
> Although language was not the focus of Farah Gilanshah's paper, the results clearly indicate the importance of language in the methodology of her research. Her use of questionnaires and interviews was dependent on a shared language as well as a shared sense of cultural identity. Language, particularly for the Iranian Americans interviewed in the Twin Cities area of Minnesota, is a strong element for community cohesion. Religious ceremonies, family rituals, and community organizations are bound by a common language and the communal history is articulated through that language.
>
> Carol Wilson also shows how language shapes reality. After an extensive analysis of textbooks, Wilson focuses on those books used to teach English to Southeast Asian refugees. She found numerous examples of English instruction which presented a reality that few native-born Americans would recognize. Although most American teachers have moved beyond the "Dick-Jane-Sally-Spot" primers, authors of books to instruct new immigrants appear not to have moved out of this time warp. The focus on white middle-class experiences and expectations must serve only to further alienate

immigrants attempting to understand a new culture and the language which describes it.

All three of these authors, in spite of varying topics, remind us that language is the medium by which we transmit culture. They ask us to consider what language we are using in politics, in education, and in mass media.

SESSION VI — THE VALUES DIMENSION
Chair: Cortland Auser, Bronx Community College

Rudy Busto, University of California, Berkeley. **"American Ethnic Religion: Problems and Prospects."**
The place of religion in American Indian traditions has been dominated by anthropology and biases within the study of religion. The nature of this situation is explored, reviewing anthropological literature and religious studies scholarship. The significance of religion's place in Chicano culture has been underestimated or submerged by Chicano studies scholarship. This presentation examines the work of recent theological work by Chicanos, focused on the symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe. General issues of scholarship, documentation and the need for work within other ethnic communities are brought into the discussion.

Silvester John Brito, University of Wyoming. **"American Cultural Motifs in Chicano Literature."**
The purpose of this presentation is to bring about an awareness of the significant use of American Indian cultural motifs in Chicano Literature. Chicano authors' use of native motifs is a form of covert Chicano identity with their American Indian heritage.

William Oandasan, American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles. **"Traditional Cultural Values in Contemporary American Indian Poetry."**
This presentation shows how contemporary American Indian poets utilize traditional tribal values in their poetry. The scope of the presentation includes oral tradition in *Seasonal Woman* by Luci Tapahonso (Navajo), traditional identity in *Going for the Rain* by Simon J. Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo) and traditional song esthetics in *Round Valley Songs* by William Oandasan (Yuki). One should understand how tribal traditions are maintained and altered to meet changes brought by the modern world.

Respondent: Juanita Palmerhall, New Mexico State University at Alamagordo

SESSION VII — THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE
Chair: Francisco Ivarra, Gavilan Community College

Edward Chang, University of California, Berkeley. **"Koreans in China."**
The discussions of "minority" problems in the United States are generally presented as if it was the only country which has had to deal with this issue. As a result, comparative analysis of race relations in America is a much neglected area. In recent years we began to realize and understand that the "minority" problem is not just U.S. problem but a universal problem which many countries are experiencing—South Africa, England, Japan, and China are examples. Each country has dealt with its "minority" problem in its own way. In order to understand complex issues of race relations, it seems appropriate and necessary to conduct comparative analysis. In this presentation I compare and contrast minority policies of the United States and China by conducting case studies of the Korean minority in each country.

B. Singh Bolaria and G.S. Basran, University of Saskatchewan. **"Racial Labour Policy and Exploitation: The Case of Sikh Immigrant Workers."**
This presentation deals with the labor force participation and work-experience of

60

Sikh immigrants who arrived in Canada during the first part of this century. Primary data sources are intensive interviews with thirty-five "pioneer" immigrants in various parts of British Columbia.

Interview data show that Sikh workers faced racial discrimination and exploitation both at and away from the work place. At the work place racial labor policy was manifested in segregated living accommodations, differential wages, work assignments, type of work and promotion policies. Away from the work place they faced racial discrimination in public places, housing, and services.

Laverne Lewycky, Carleton University. "Equality Now."

This presentation deals with *Equality Now!*, a report issued by the Special Parliamentary Committee on the Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society in 1984. The Canadian concept of multiculturalism has become part of Australia's state policy.

Frank P. Le Veness, St. John's University. "The Puerto Ricans: Immigrants in Their Own Homeland."

This presentation examines, from a political perspective, the plight of the Puerto Rican people, who have endured 450 years of colonialism under both Spanish and American rule, and who, though American citizens, are still treated as immigrants by many of their fellow-citizens as they move about this nation in search of employment or residence.

Respondent: Reed M. Coughlan, Empire State College, SUNY

The five papers encompass a range of perspectives and a variety of topics of international concern. They share in common excellence in scholarship, and depth in research; each author has grappled with a serious issue and has opened the door to intellectual exchange and debate in such a fashion as to push forward the frontiers of knowledge. My comments are designed to suggest some of the dirctions that emerge directly from these stimulating and evocative papers.

1. Chang's paper is broad and ambitious in scope. His analysis of minority policies in the United States, Japan, and China, however, presumes an analytical clarity regarding the nature and role of the state that is lacking in the text. The reader/ audience might reasonably ask: Who formulates policy, and on the behalf of which social groups? How is policy enacted? What are the major political differences between the three countries? If, as Chang seems to imply, his intent is to evaluate the effects of government policy, he will need to make some methodological decisions: How will he measure the objective position of minority groups within the respective societies? Will he accommodate the subject measure of self/group perception? Will he anticipate a discontinuity between government claims and actual minority group statuses?

2. Bolaria and Basran's paper raises some issues at both the methodological and theoretical level. The first two thirds of the paper provides an analytical summary of Marxist views on the structiural necessities that lead to the importation of foreign labor in western capitalist development. The last third discusses the subjective experiences, as reported by 35 interview respondents, of Sikh immigrants in Canada.

There is a certain incongruity between these two parts of the paper. The first part draws on dialectical materialism which assumes that political and economic forces, in a sense, operate behind the backs of social actors. The second part of the paper is based on a methodology that accords recognition to the subjects own understanding of political, social economic and cultural circumstances.

3. Laverne Lewycky: What might account for the shifts evident in the three phases of Canadian ethno-history? Can this periodization be linked to stages in the development of the Canadian economy?

What are the connections between government policy and pronouncements on matters of ethnic group relations and actual social values and attitudes prevalent in Canada?

What is the relationship between theoretical frameworks expounded by academics (such as Porter's Vertical Mosaic) to explain and analyze ethnic relations in Canada and government initiatives and policy?

How have academic accounts filtered through Canadian culture to shape what might be called the ethnic sensibility?

Lawycky's account of the history of ideas, academic and popular, about ethnic groups in Canada is suggestive in many ways. It raises questions about ideology, power, and culture that go to the core of both social structure and individual consciousness.

4. Dr. Samarasinghe: What are connections between the economic location or role of an ethnic group in the labor market, and ethnic solidarity or mobilization?

Many scholars have assumed that there is a positive correlation between economic and political inequalities and ehtnic solidarity and conflict.

Smarasinghe has developed a careful analysis that demonstrates the slaience of material and historical conditions in giving shape to strong group identity. As he says, "cultural identity, political institutions, and economic structure reinforce each other to produce ethnic solidarity."

The question we face is: What will become of ethnic solidarity when the structural foundations. the economic and labor market forces, which undergird a sense of corporate identity, change substantially? Will the elimination of inequality, income differentials, and unequal access in the labor market, lead to a decline in ethnic group solidarity? Will these changes eventually lead to a decline in ethnic conflict? Does economic incorporation necessarily lead to social and political incorporation? Is ethnicity only or primarily a vehicle for the expression of political and economic interests? Or does ethnicity serve other functions that will survive the elimination of inequities in the labor market and in politics?

5. Frank LeVeness has presented a political history of Puerto Rico which highlights the dilemmas and contradicitons of the island. But implicit in the title and in the anlysis is a model of internal colonialism that raises the question: Who benefits from the political and economic arrangements that characterize Puerto Rico?

The reader/audience is left wanting to know more about the notion of cultural imperialism and about the structures of dependency that seem to be ⋅ implied in references to the political, legal, and economic arenas.

Then, too, once we have sorted out the issues surrounding political membership and rights, we need to move directly to a central question that the author does not address: What impact does political enfranchisement have upon ethnic identity and ethnic solidarity?

SESSION VIII — DEAF AMERICANS: AN ETHNIC MINORITY?
Chair: Joan Randall, University of California, Davis

Larry Fleischer, California State University, Northridge. **"The Emergence of Deaf Studies."**

Carol Padden, California State University, San Diego. **"Bilingualism in the Deaf Community."**

John S. Schuchman, Gallaudet College. **"Differences among Disabled Communities."**

Although individuals with a profound hearing loss have long identified themselves as a separate group within American society, scholars have not reached any consensus about the appropriateness of the deaf community as a minority. Most research related to deafness focuses on the handicapping condition, the disability of hearing loss, and seeks or advocates some type of remediation or rehabilitation. Historically, the deaf community has resisted efforts at assimilation with both the larger hearing community and other disabled groups. It is suggested that an ethnological perspective will foster a better understanding of what has been described as a forgotten minority.

A majority of deaf adults in the United States use some form of sign language, and, since the mid-1960s, the deaf community increasingly has identified itself with other minority groups. One consequence has been greater interest in humanistic studies of deaf people, collectively and as individuals. Despite a limited number of scholarly works in history, sociology, and anthropology, some universities already have

initiated "deaf studies" programs. The purpose of this presentation, then, is to share characteristics which we interpret to have ethnographic significance and to invite the audience to critique or make suggestions for further research about the deaf community as an apppropriate subject for ethnic studies research.

The panel will present and discuss three examples of the deaf community as a minority: (1) a preliminary study of the differences of the deaf community from other disabled groups, (2) a study of bilingualism and deaf ethnicity, and (3) a description of the emergence of deaf studies programs. The comment will present a general discussion of ethnicity and make a case for the inclusion of the deaf community.

1. The deaf community—how is it different from other disabled groups. Sociologist Paul Higgins has described deaf persons from the perspective of deviance as "Outsiders in a Hearing World." Deaf have their own social clubs, insurance societies, theatrical, sports, and cultural organizations, retirement homes, and language. These are all characteristics which are common with other ethnic and minority groups. More importantly, since the 1960s, more and more deaf persons describe themselves as a minority. Yet most of the prevalent scholarship in the field of deafness refers to medical, rehabilitative, or pedogogical models which clearly include deaf persons with other disabled groups. This paper presents a preliminary analysis of the history and culture of deaf people which distinguishes it from other disabilty groups.

2. A study of bilingualism and deaf ethnicity. The presenter will share stories of how deaf children in deaf families discover that they are deaf and hence, different from the deaf community and the implications of this research for deaf ethnicity.

3. A description of the emergency of deaf studies programs. Since the 1960s, there has been an increasing effort by both deaf people and scholars, led by linguists and anthropologists, to achieve a perceived equity with other minority groups in the form of deaf studies. This paper describes current programs and issues for further research.

Respondent: John Van Cleve, Gallaudet College

SESSION IX — ETHNIC PUBLICATIONS
Chair: June Murray-Gill, University of California, Santa Cruz

Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University. "Welsh Ethnic Newspapers and Other Publications in the United States."

Little seems to have been written on this topic. One book (1967) has eleven pages, mostly about the more short-lived and less important newspapers and magazines; another (1985) has only three pages on this subject. This presentation deals with the two newspapers, one possibly the oldest continuously published ethnic newspaper in the country, and on the other, which began publication in 1975. They are set in the context of the broad spectrum of Welsh-American journalism and book publishing.

Rudolph L. Espinoza, San Francisco. "Quinto Sol: Its Emergence, Role, and Contributions to the Chicano Reaction Period (1967-1972)."

There is as yet an inadequate literature and scholarship surrounding the recovery of Chicano social history and a study that attempts to document the growth of Chicano publications, writers, and presses is much desired, however handicapped it may be by lack of existing materials. This presentation discusses the contributions of Quinto Sol, a Mexican-American student organization as a Civil Rights group at U.C. Berkeley (1966-1967) in the development of a self-supporting Chicano Press and its journal *El Grito* (Vol. 1, No. 1) Fall 1967.

Donald Guimary, San Jose State University. "Are Newspapers in California Meeting the Goals of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Hiring More Ethnic Minorities?"

The American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1978 set out to have newspapers increase the number of ethnic minorities in their newsrooms so that the percentages would be proportional to the population on a regional basis by the year 2000. In 1978,

63

the percentage of non-white employees in newsrooms was four percent. In 1985, it was 5.8 percent.

Are small and medium sized dailies in California hiring a higher than national average of ethnic minorities in their newsrooms? With 25 percent non-white population of the state's 25 million, do smaller dailies employ a percentage of non-white professionals similar to the national average? This study surveys small and medium sized dailies examining their patterns of non-white employment and compares the data with the results of an ASNE study.

Respondent: Helen Jaskoski, California State University, Fullerton

The three papers consider publications as defined by readership: by language/ethos in the case of the Welsh archives and Quinto Sol; by geographical area in the case of the California dailies. Each paper raises questions for further investigation.

(1) *Guimary.* This paper raises important questions regarding the significance of ethnically plural representation on newspaper staffs. In the paper the terms *minority* and non-white are used more or less interchangeably, and leave open the question of Latino representation. Further studies might look at the correlation between pluralism on newspaper staffs and wideness of coverage. My question here is, "Can a study making such correlation be designed?" Finally, I believe it fruitful to follow up an issue raised early on in the paper: How can members of ethnic groups who are not now well represented on newspaper staffs be encouraged to become journalists? In addition, while the paper has focused on hiring of minorities, another question to be explored is *ownership* of dailies by minority owners.

(2) *Davies.* The Welsh periodicals have a particular interest for me as a literary scholar when I read about these song festivals and contests: I would like to know more. The paper also reminds us of the rich resources in non-English publications in the U.S. Now that two Polish Americans—or two American Poles—have won the Nobel prize (Czeslaw Miloso, who lives in Berkeley and writes in Polish, and Isaac Bashevis Singer, who lives in New York and writes in Yiddish) we may see wider support for scholarly interest in non-English American literature. Recognition of the richness of these archives also brings to our attention the problem of access and raises the important question: how are we to encourage development of the bilingual skills and professional choices that will foster wider appreciation and use of these materials? For instance, there are many many Asian language publications in California, dating to the last century. However, few individuals have undertaken preparation for scholarly investigation of this material.

(3) *Espinoza.* Is/was *El Grito* in English, in Spanish or in both? The paper brings out the importance of humor/satire in raising consciousness: a relatively neglected area of investigation. We can look forward to the analysis of the relationship between the learned journal, *El Grito,* and the social/political student-originated movement, Quinto Sol. This prospect in turn raises the very important issue of class struggle in relation to ethnic groups: e.g., what relationship(s)—if any—can be traced between the farm-worker movement, the student movement of Quinto Sol, and the learned journal *El Grito?* Comparative studies suggest themselves: can the Polish Solidarity model of an alliance of intellectuals and workers be compared with the Chicano movement of Quinto Sol?

Conclusion. Each paper focuses on issues of importance to readers of and writers published in special-focus periodicals in a pluralist society. Each paper suggests many new avenues for research—and activism.

SESSION X — TEACHER EDUCATION
Chair: Alice Deck, University of Illinois

James H. Bracy, California State University, Northridge. **"Ethnic Identity in the Classroom Setting: A Cross-Cultural Understanding of African-American Behavioral Patterns."**

In the social scientific community, a number of preliminary findings concerning black Americans in the classroom are causing college/university teachers to re-

evaluate their teaching strategies. This presentation addresses specific factors in the classroom setting which affect the performance and cognitive identity of the black student. Such factors as Africanisms, cognitive styles, immediacy and pragmatism over abstraction, teacher and student roles, styles and procedures of classroom behavior, modes of debate behavior, and teaching strategy suggestions are examined in terms of black-white interaction patterns in the university classroom setting. Developing and maintaining a strong ethnic identity in the university setting requires a crucial re-examination of classroom racial interaction patterns to ensure cross-cultural understanding.

Joan W. Graham, Devry Institute of Technology. "The Effects of Reading Ethnic Literature on the Attitudes of Adolescents."

In an investigation of the influence of ethnic literature on white adolescents' attitudes toward Vietnamese, much change was manifested. A case study approach was used with five sophomore subjects from a public high school. Fiction and nonfiction were read by these subjects. Before and after reading the texts, levels of prejudice were ascertained by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and an essay. During the reading, subjects' responses to the literature were taped, and the subsequent analysis of these tapes revealed positive changes in attitudes toward ethnic issues.

Margaret Laughlin, University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. "Promoting Equality Through Curriculum Development Efforts."

As a result of the various national and state educational reform reports within the past two years, which now number approximately 300, many states are currently in the midst of major curriculum reform efforts in several content areas, e.g., social studies, language arts, science. These various curriculum reform efforts at the state and local district levels present educators with marvelous opportunities to include equity (multicultural/nonsexist) content, issues, and learning activities in their curriculum revision efforts. Often these new curriculum development activities provide educators with additional opportunities for ongoing professional staff development which may include attention to equity concerns and issues. The efforts of one professional organization and the efforts of one state are cited for illustrative purposes. These examples can be applied to other curriculum content areas and to other state and district efforts.

Respondent: Cary Wintz, Texas Southern University

Graham's study is based on the impact that ethnic-related literature had on the attitudes (as expressed in oral and written responses) of five white adolescents. Graham suggests that exposure to ethnic literature causes adolescents to reexamine and perhaps even revise their perception of ethnic minorities.

I agree with Graham that literature can be an effective tool for teaching students the richness of the ethnic experience, and especially for adding a human dimension to that experience, and while I *suspect* that literature is useful as a means of effecting attitudinal change, I am not certain that five students represents a sufficient sample size from which to draw this conclusion with any confidence. To further validate this experiment I would like to see other types of students tested (in addition to those who had exhibited overt, and rather extreme manifestations of prejudice). At this point Graham's findings must be labeled tentative; it would be worthwhile to expand the study with a larger, randomly selected sample (and perhaps a control group).

Bracy's paper focuses on three issues. First he suggests that college and university instructors are re-evaluating their teaching strategies because of new findings regarding black culture, cognitive style, and social behavior. He then examines the nature and source of these cultural and behavioral differences, linking them to the cultural heritage of black Americans—especially their African roots and the ghetto experience. He then explains how these cultural and behavioral differences manifest themselves in classroom behavior, and suggests teaching techniques appropriate to this behavior.

I think that the time has come for scholars to look more closely at the accuracy of "Africanisms" as an explanation for contemporary black behavior. Anthropologists are not in agreement about the degree to which seventeenth and eighteenth century

African cultural patterns are reflected in the behavior of late twentieth century black Americans. The studies that have argued this position have presented interesting theories, supported, however, by little hard data. It is time that cross cultural studies be done, perhaps comparing the classroom behavior and response to varying teaching strategies of West African and black American students. Likewise, I am not certain that "divergent thinking" as opposed to deductive or inductive reasoning is an ethnically or racially fixed pattern of conceptualization; educational background is more likely to influence one's patterns of conceptualization.

I agree with Bracy's statement that "a number of preliminary findings concerning black Americans in the classroom are causing college/university teachers to re-evaluate their teaching strategies," but not in the way that he suggests. The overriding concerns in the late 1980s are: (1) the failure of minorities (especially blacks) to perform well on standardized tests—at a time when these tests are becoming more widespread, and (2) the mounting evidence (again, especially among minority students) of the lack of basic skills among high school and college *graduates*. Perhaps "white universities" can play the game of accommodating the "cultural differences" of black students (and explain away the failure of minorities to perform well on standardized tests), but (historically) *black colleges can not!* They (black colleges) are measured by the criteria of "mainstream American culture," and, if they are going to survive, they must measure up. I also suggest that in taking this approach, the black colleges are in tune with the "pragmatism" of "street culture"; they are addressing the "stark realities of life," the criteria of the real world, criteria by which black college graduates will be evaluated, and criteria that black students must master if they are going to succeed in the "real world."

Bracy does discuss a number of teaching strategies that he feels will better address the needs of black students. These techniques may assist us in reaching students who might be otherwise lost to the college or university. But we must always remember that in the end our students will be expected to perform to standards that will not be adjusted for their cultural or ethnic background.

Laughlin provides us with a brief overview of educational reform in post World War II America. She identifies two trends: the effort to upgrade the quality of education, usually promoted by the federal government in response to a challenge to national security (such as Sputnik in the late 1950s); and the effort to make schools the agent for promoting equity (as mandated by the 1954 *Brown* decision and the federal programs of the 1960s). Laughlin notes that public education faces a new "crisis" today, and that the concerns outlined in *A Nation at Risk* bear a striking resemblance to those of the 1950s. However, she also notes that the lack of clear and consistent national educational policy objectives has undermined the effectiveness on individual federal education programs and reform efforts.

Implicit in Laughlin's analysis is the question, "What is the function of public education?" Is the purpose of our schools to "educate" (i.e., impart a body of knowledge), to "socialize" (i.e., impart an existing set of values or beliefs), or to "revolutionize" (i.e. impart a new set of values or beliefs)? More important, who defines the purpose of education; who defines the knowledge, or the set of values and beliefs that are to be imparted to our students? Until these questions are answered, we are unlikely to achieve the consistent national educational policy that Laughlin calls for.

Laughlin devotes the bulk of her paper to a call for "equity education," and the description of curriculum reform efforts to achieve this goal in Wisconsin. While this seems to be an excellent way to promote equity in our public schools, it does not address the broader questions of educational policy.

SESSION XI — MEDIA

Chair: Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley

Judy Yung, University of California, Berkeley. **"Breaking Stereotypes: Chinese American Women's Quest for Identity and Equality."**

"Breaking Stereotypes" is a half-hour slide presentation that traces the development of stereotyped images of Chinese American women from their first arrival in 1834 to

the present. Images of Chinese American women as exotic curios, heathens, and prostitutes in the nineteenth century and as China Dolls, Dragon Ladies, and "office wives" in the twentieth century were shaped by political and economic events in China as well as in the United States. Manifestations of racism and sexism, these images worked to reinforce Chinese American women's subordinate position in America's socioeconomic strata and prevent their equal participation in American society. "Breaking Stereotypes" highlights the efforts of Chinese American women to break these stereotypes in order to achieve a positive ethnic identity and a greater degree of socioeconomic equality.

Ibrahim Abou-Ghorra, California State University, Fresno. "Becoming American." (Iris Film & Video)

The opening scene of *Becoming American* shows a refugee family looking out of the airplane window in anticipation of the new land that will be their home. *What does it mean to "become American?"* This film traces one refugee family's experiences from their home in Laos to a refugee camp in Thailand, and from there to Seattle, Washington, where they have finally resettled. Their story is but one of thousands, of millions of people world-wide who are awaiting the chance to begin again. The experience of this Hmong family has basic human elements in common with those of any refugee family. They are uprooted from all that is familiar and forced to wait (often for years) until beginning a new life in a culture far different from their own.

Shelly Lieberman, Copeland Griggs Productions. "Going International: Living in the U.S.A."

Relocation has a profound impact on both international visitors and Americans. Their cultural exchange has the possibility of furthering international understanding and achievement; however, without proper orientation of both parties, the American workplace, school and community may become a milieu where cultural ignorance causes alienation, confusion and disorientation. These two films were made to ease the acculturation process of the foreign national to the United States by demystifying American culture and exploring American lifestyles, values and customs. For the American viewer, the films' contrasting of cultures leads him/her to a better understanding of American culture and a greater ability to identify fundamental cultural differences.

Respondent: Linda M.C. Abbott, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno

Each of the presentations highlights a particular facet of the phenomenon that is immigration. That experience is a highly personal and compelling one, as these media messages make clear. I would like to reflect on this personal or psychological aspect for a moment by focussing on the similarities of experienced stages for both the immigrant and the host culture. At the psychological level, both experience an initial expectation phase, followed by reality testing, and finally, some level of adjustment. The quality of that final adjustment stage—its success or failure—is, I believe, largely controlled by the reality testing that goes on for both parties. For the immigrant and for the host two components are critical: the nature of existing barriers to information processing, and the nature of available informants. The first is impacted, as we have seen, by fears, restrictions, and physical limitations of an impressive variety. The second aspect, available informants or experts, serves as a resource for overcoming these barriers. It is here that professionals, educators, and human service workers play a significant role in assisting the immigrant and the host to move beyond inaccuracies and stereotypes. These media productions serve to provide useful role models and challenge us to improve our own functioning as humane, articulate, knowledgable, and effective informants.

SESSION XII — IDENTITY
Chair: Stewart Rodnon, Rider College

Phylis C. Martinelli, Arizona State University. **"Identificational Ethnicity: The Quantitative and Emotional Responses of Italian Americans in the Sunbelt."**

Identificational ethnicity or ethnic identification is seen by some researchers as an increasingly important component of the "new" less ascriptive ethnicity that has begun to emerge for white ethnics. To study identificational ethnicity geographically, mobile and upwardly mobile Italian American migrants to Scottsdale, a Sunbelt community, were interviewed. The respondents showed a moderate degree of identificational ethnicity that was consistent within most of the subgroups in the sample. When identificational ethnicity was correlated with several other measures of ethnicity in the study a strong, positve relationship was found with most scales. This indicates that for this sample identificational ethnicity was not an individualistic response to ethnicity as has been suggested by some researchers. Instead it seems to be part of contemporary ethnicity for middle-class white ethnics.

Michael Thornton, Cornell University. **"Black Japanese Americans: A Microcosm of Intergroup Identity and Cooperation."**

With white conservatism growing in America, racial minorities are forming new alliances with other non-white groups. However, because communication between these groups has long lay dormant, alliance-building is hindered by mutual misconceptions. The pitfalls involved in this effort are seen in microcosm in an examination of the identity formation of Black and Japanese mixtures. The thirty-five informants reveal their social psychological efforts to cope with multiple identities. While some choose other options, and some try but fail to do so, others are able to span within themselves the gap between the two groups of which they are a part.

Homer D.C. Garcia, Pitzer College. **"Exploratory Factor Structures and Correlates of Chicano Stereotypic Perceptions."**

Many social scientists agree that stereotypes, those "unscientific and hence unreliable generalizations that people make about other people..." (Bogardus, 1950, p. 50), have highly negative effects on the psychological, ethnic identity, socioeconomic, and political characteristics of minority group individuals. Despite the recognized importance of stereotypes, little is known about the nature of stereotypes and how they operate to hurt minorities. A conceptualization and operationalization of stereotypic perceptions is carried out in the presentation which differs from that of contemporary research.

Arthur J. Hughes, St. Francis College. **"Geraldine Ferraro and the Election of 1984."**

Geraldine Ferraro has become one of Italian American womanhood's principal symbols. Her startling skyrocket to fame at the Democratic National Convention of 1984 focused attention on all women but especialy on those with whom she was most identified. Her relationship with males in positions of dominance: father, cousin, husband, Speaker of the House O'Neil, Walter Mondale, and Cardinal O'Connor is fascinating and instructive. She has frequently stated that her gender was the foundation of her political career and this continues to be the case as she moves through the upper echelons of America's celebrity-leadership class. The study explores this phenomenon, its causation and its possible effects on the future course of American politics.

Respondent: Delo Washington, California State University, Stanislaus

Books on "identity" were the popular domain of Erik Erickson from 1950 through the 1970s. Addressing notions related to critical stages of development, his references to "identity crisis" have been used in a variety of ways in the literature. The titles of the papers presented in this section fit fairly neatly under this designated category. Furthermore, it is useful to think about their themes as representing special ideas that are considered "critical" and, if they are received well, that can be used as appropriate guidelines for interpreting change. All papers grounded their data within a theoretical orientation which values the way people interact with themselves and with others to create images.

Thornton questioned the value of using traditional approaches to explain how people are classified according to their *ethnic* identity. Thornton described ways that individual and group identity are tied together. He challenged the either/or argument mode by looking at an approach that is dichotomous and by making suggestions regarding its relevance and power. Thornton wondered whether scholars are prepared to act in new ways which, in his opinion, would serve their social interest best. A child whose parents are black American and Japanese should identify with both cultures. To be designated black according to the U.S. Census categories is to be denied one half of one's identity and the social scientists should be willing to consider the limitations of such classifications.

Martinelli focused on a subgroup that is receiving increased attention among scholars—white ethnics. Information about minority group characteristics has been taken for granted, according to the presenter, and limited references have been made to their distinctive traits. A random sampling of Italian Americans in a suburban sunbelt setting in Arizona was taken and vignettes of their experiences reported. Martinelli relied on a blend of quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to identify representative information. The scale of items used was significant since special areas of inquiry were isolated, but the numerical value given each item was questionable. Such assignments suggest that a predetermined judgment has been made. Any outcomes linked to those assignments are influenced by the values of the researcher. In reporting that "ethnic identification is one of the social bonds that can be used to establish contact and build relationships," the author shared a familiar observation. In "an environment or social milieu so characterized by rootlessness," Martinelli concludes that a sociologist who finds common social bonds in one ethnic group should be able to relate those bonds to other people and places. Ethnic roots run deep and social roots are wide.

Garcia's presentation is an acknowledged exploratory approach. He challenged conventional wisdom by demonstrating the need to use two views of "stereotypes" when investigating how Chicanos identify themselves. Using references to "stereotypes" as the critical units of analyses, Garcia argued that informants should be asked to give negative as well as positive perceptions of images. Under these conditions, more correct interpretations can be made. When the biases of the informants can also be taken into account, the investigator has more leverage for engaging in research that can include other populations.

"Geraldine Ferraro and the Election of 1984" was an engaging presentation where Hughes used a case example to account for a special identity. He addressed the merits of a uniqueness that was bound by characteristics associated with being a woman in a male-dominated workplace, a woman who is of Italian ancestry and of New York heritage, a woman who grew up in a one-parent family, and a woman who represents a congressional district mistakenly though by some to be peopled by Archie Bunker types.

When Hughes described Ferraro as being "current," not "super," he was also cautioning us against the use of descriptive terms—"beautiful" is one of them—that inadequately describes the subject under scrutiny. When new, more complicated issues are involved, social scientists must take on the role of artists who systematically paint their pictures with color and compassion for detail. As if he kept this in mind, the author refers to the influences of background—the setting of East Harlem in 1905 and the common sites where bonding activities were shared. The block, the parish, the school and the family were shaped by events like musicals, dancing and ethnic festivals. These things built character and commitment where people and their neighborhoods were concerned.

Ferraro was achievement-oriented. Her college and law school experiences were undertaken when they were not considered the most popular ones an upwardly mobile woman, with her heritage, would choose. Having married, raised children, and having run for vice-president of the United States, she is considered to be a "thinking" woman who can handle housekeeping at home and in Congress. *The New York Times* identified her as an Italian American superstar in one of its features not long ago. How should she be given credit for what she is? Should one focus on her as an ethnic? as a woman? as an American? Hughes has portrayed her as being all of these—a winning and an admirable combination.

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ETHNIC STUDIES REPORT

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Newsletter Article
[3]James H. Williams. "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness." NAIES *Newsletter.* Vol. 5, No. 2 (October, 1980) 19.

Newspaper Article
[4]Jack Slater. "Where Are the Blacks in Ballet?" *Los Angeles Times.* (June 8, 1980) 18.

Article in a Book
[5]Lawrence Kohlberg. "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization." *Handbook of Socialization.* D. Goslin, ed. (New York: Rand McNally, 1969) 347-580.

Thesis/Dissertation
[6]Michael G. Karni. *"Yhteishyra"—or For the Common Good: Finnish Radicalism in the Western Great Lakes Region 1900-1940.* Ph.D. Dissertation. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1975) 115-195.

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